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**JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE
UNITED STATES**

STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

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JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

FROM 1881 TO 1910

BY

SAMUEL JOSEPH, PH.D.

*Instructor in the Commercial High School,
Brooklyn, New York*



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MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER



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PREFACE

IN this survey of Jewish immigration to the United States for the past thirty years, my purpose has been to present the main features of a movement of population that is one of the most striking of modern times. The causes of Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe, the course of Jewish immigration to the United States and the most important social qualities of the Jewish immigrants are studied for the light they throw upon the character of this movement. The method employed in this investigation has been largely statistical and comparative, a fact which is partly due to the kind of material that was available and partly to the point of view that has been taken. Certain economic and social factors, having a close bearing upon the past and present situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe and frequently neglected in the discussion of the various phases of this movement, have been emphasized in the examination into the causes of the emigration of the Jews from Eastern Europe and have been found vital in determining the specific character of the Jewish immigration to this country.

I desire gratefully to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Mr. A. S. Freidus, head of the Jewish department of the New York Public Library, for his ever-ready assistance in the preparation of this work. Thanks are due as well to Dr. C. C. Williamson, head of the Economics department of the library, and to his able and courteous staff; to Professor Robert E. Chaddock for his many valuable sug-

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SAMUEL JOSEPH.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THIRTY years have elapsed since the Jews began to enter the United States in numbers sufficiently large to make their immigration conspicuous in the general movement to this country. A study of Jewish immigration, in itself and in relation to the general movement, reveals an interesting phase of this historic and many-sided social phenomenon and throws light upon a number of important problems incident to it. 1889

Especially does it become clear that the Jewish immigration, although in part the result of the same forces as have affected the general immigration and the separate groups composing it, differs, nevertheless, in certain marked respects, from the typical immigration. Some of these differences indeed are fundamental and far-reaching in their effects and practically stamp the Jewish immigration as a movement *sui generis*.

Generally speaking, in the forces which are behind the emigration of the Jews from the countries of the Old World, in the character of their immigration—its movement and its distinguishing qualities—the Jewish immigration strikes a distinctly individual note.

Three European countries—Russia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania—furnish the vast majority of the Jewish immigrants to the United States.¹ It is to these countries, therefore, that we must turn for light upon the causes of this movement.

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 95.

«Geographically, these countries are closely connected; they form practically the whole of the division of Eastern Europe.» Here the Slavonic races so largely predominate that the term Slavonic Europe has been applied to this section of Europe.

Eastern or Slavonic Europe is a social as well as a geographical fact. In racial stratification, economic and social institutions, cultural position and, in part, religious traditions as well, these countries present strong similarities to one another and equally strong differences in most of these respects from the countries of Western Europe.

It is here that the Jews are found concentrated in the greatest numbers. Nearly seven and a half-million Jews—more than half of the Jews of the world—live in these countries. Of this number more than five millions are in Russia, more than two millions in Austria-Hungary, and a quarter of a million in Roumania. The great majority of these are massed on the contiguous borders, in a zone which embraces Poland, and Western Russia, Galicia, and Moldavia. This is the emigration zone. The relative density of the Jews is greatest in these parts. Every seventh man in Poland, every ninth man in Western Russia and in Galicia, and every tenth man in Moldavia, is a Jew. Thus the center of gravity of the Jewish populations is still the former kingdom of Poland, as it was constituted before the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century.

United originally in Poland, the Jews of Eastern Europe still retain the same general characteristics, in spite of the changes that have been brought about by a century of rule under different governments. Speaking a common language, Yiddish, and possessing common religious traditions, as well as similar social and psychological traits, the East-European Jews present on the whole a striking uniformity of character.

Through the centuries they have become deeply rooted in the East-European soil, their economic and social life intimately connected with the economic and social conditions of these countries and their history deeply influenced by the transformations that have been taking place in them for half a century.

As these conditions and transformations furnish the foundation of Jewish life in Eastern Europe, and contain the explanation of the situation that has been largely responsible for the recent Jewish emigration to Western Europe and the United States, a rapid review of the economic, social and political conditions of Russia, Roumania and Austria-Hungary will be made.

PART I

THE CAUSES OF JEWISH EMIGRATION

CHAPTER II

EASTERN EUROPE: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

I. RUSSIA

THE difficulty of the average American to understand the character of Russian life, some traits of which have been so vividly brought home to him in recent years, may be attributed to a general idea that a country rubbing elbows as it were with Western civilization for several centuries must perforce itself possess the characteristics of modern civilization. A closer survey of the economic, social and political conditions prevailing in Russia to-day, however, reveals many points of difference from those of the countries of Western Europe, and presents a remarkable contrast with those prevailing in the United States. Russia and the United States, indeed, stand, in Leroy-Beaulieu's phrase, at the two poles of modern civilization. So far apart are they in the character of their economic, social and political structures, in the degree in which they utilize the forms and institutions of modern life, and, in the difference in the mental make-up of their peoples, that there exist few, if any, points of real contact.

Up to the middle of the 19th century, Russia was, in nearly all respects, a medieval state. She was a society, which, in the words of Kovalevsky, "preserved still of feudalism, not its political spirit but its economic structure, serfdom, monopoly and the privileges of the nobility, its immunities in the matter of taxes, its exclusive right to

landed property, and its seignorial rights.”¹ Her modern era dates from the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, when she became, at least in form, a European state. But, though the Russia of our day has witnessed great transformations in the direction of modernization, she still retains many of the conditions and much of the spirit of her medieval past.

A rapid review of the economic, social and political conditions of Russia will serve to make clearer this situation, which has an important bearing upon the exceptional position, legal, economic, social, of the Jews in the Empire, and upon the fateful events of their history for a third of a century.

The most striking fact in the economic life of present-day Russia is that it is overwhelmingly agricultural. More than three-fourths of her population are engaged in some form of agricultural labor. The vast majority are peasants living in villages. Towns are relatively few and sparsely populated. Agricultural products constitute 85 per cent of the annual exports. What a contrast does this agricultural state, this “peasant empire”, present to the industrially and commercially developed countries of Western Europe and the United States!

The Russian peasant still practices a primitive system of agriculture. His method of extensive cultivation, the three-field system in vogue, his primitive implements, his domestic economy of half a century ago, with its home production for home consumption, which is still maintained in many parts of Russia to this day—all these present conditions not far removed from those of the middle ages of Western Europe.²

¹ Kovalevsky, *La crise russe* (Paris, 1906), p. III.

² Cf. Witte, *Vorlesungen über Volks- und Staatswirtschaft* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1913), p. 40.

Milyoukov, *Russia and its Crisis* (University of Chicago Press, 1905), p. 439.

The existence to our day of this almost primitive economy finds its explanation in the fact that serfdom existed in Russia, in all its unmitigated cruelty, until comparatively recent times. Its abolition through the Emancipation Act of Alexander II—antedating our own Emancipation Proclamation by a few years—struck off the chains that bound twenty millions of peasants to the soil. The emancipation, however, was not complete. The land the peasants received was insufficient for their needs. Other conditions co-operated in the course of time with this primary one, to create a situation of chronic starvation for the great mass of the Russian peasants. Forced by the government to pay heavy taxes, in addition to redemption dues for the land, which they paid until recently, and receiving little help from either government or the nobility for the improvement of their position, they are virtually exploited almost as completely as before the emancipation.

Thus, though freed in person, the peasants are to a great extent bound by economic ties to their former masters, the nobles. These two social-economic classes maintain towards each other practically the same relative position held by them before the emancipation. The manor still controls the hut.

The former servile relations have persisted psychologically as well. The Russian peasant is still largely a serf in his mentality, in his feeling of dependence, in his inertia and lack of individual enterprise, and, above all, in the smallness of his demands upon life.¹ This fact permeates, as it serves to explain, many aspects of contemporary Russian life.

The industrial and commercial stage of Russian economy began with the emancipation, which set free a great supply

¹ Cf. Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

of labor. The changes that have taken place have nevertheless not obliterated many of the landmarks of the feudal, pre-reformation period. The economic activities of the last half-century present a curious juxtaposition of old and new, medieval and modern. Cottage and village industries but little removed from the natural economy of the earlier period exist by the side of great factories and industrial establishments employing thousands of workmen. Fairs and markets still play a large part in supplying the needs of the peasants, rapidly as they are being supplanted by the commercial activities of the towns. The industrial laborers, recruited mainly from the country, retain largely their peasant interests, relations and characteristics. The payment of wages in kind, which is still in vogue in many parts, and the right of inflicting corporal punishment retained by the employers, give evidence of the strong impress of the servile conditions of the past.

Vast changes have nevertheless taken place since the emancipation. Capitalism has made rapid, if uneven, progress. Under the fostering care of the government, industry and commerce have made immense strides. The factory system has taken firm root and has been developing a specialized class of industrial laborers. Great industrial centers have sprung up; towns have grown rapidly. The middle class, hitherto insignificant, has increased in number, wealth and influence. Among the peasants as well, freedom has given birth to the spirit of individualism. The differentiation of the peasantry into wealthier peasants and landless agricultural laborers, the great mass of the peasantry occupying the middle ground, and the gradual dissolution of the two great forces of Russian agricultural life—the patriarchal family and the village community—have been the most important results.

Russia is clearly in a state of transition from the agri-

cultural or medieval to the industrial and commercial or modern economic life. This transformation of the economic structure is being effected under great difficulties and the strong opposition of the ruling classes, whose privileges are threatened by the new order of things.

The Russian social and political order reflects the medieval background which formed the setting for her entrance upon the modern stage. The class distinctions, naturally obtaining, are hardened into rigidity by the law, which divides Russian society into a hierarchy of five classes or orders—the nobles, the clergy, the merchants, the townsmen and the peasants—each with separate legal status, rights and obligations.

The individual is thus not an independent unit, as in the legal codes of Western Europe or the United States. Accompanying the legal stratification there is an exceedingly strong, almost caste-like, sense of difference between the members of the different groups.

This emphasis on the person is characteristic of the medieval social order. In Russia it finds additional expression in the control of individual movement by means of the passport, without which document a Russian may be said to have no legal existence.

Even more striking is the position of the Russian Church, as well as the religio-national conception which dominates the Russian mind and according to which orthodoxy and nationality are regarded as one. The Russian Orthodox is the only true Russian; all others are foreigners. In the alliance of church and state—which in Russia reaches a degree of strength not attained in any other European state—in the complete control exercised by the Church over the lives of the faithful and the clergy, in secular as in religious matters, in its intolerant attitude towards other creeds and its unceasing attempts to suppress them—it presents

characteristics strongly reminiscent of the position of the medieval church in Western Europe.

The one great political fact of Russia has been the autocracy. The degree of control which the autocratic Czars exercised unopposed over their subjects marks an important difference between the political development of Russia and that of the countries of Western Europe. At an early period the Czars had transformed the nobility into a body of state officials, thus at a blow depriving them of any real powers, apart from the will of the Crown, and making them serve the interests of the state. In this way the nobles, or the landed aristocracy, became the main source from which the members of the bureaucracy were recruited. The lack of a middle class of any real size and influence, which could play a part in the demand for political rights, explains in a measure the strength of the autocratic powers.¹ The autocracy in turn has been largely dependent upon its servant, the bureaucracy. To such an extent has the Russian government been the expression of the will and interests of this all-powerful body as to justify Leroy-Beaulieu's designation of Russia as the "Bureaucratic State".

Thus the autocracy, the nobility-bureaucracy and the church have been the dominating forces in the economic, social and political life of Russia.

In the light of this analysis, the political struggles that have been so conspicuous a feature of Russian life during the last half of the 19th century become an accompaniment as well as an expression of the progressive development of Russia towards modern economic, social and political institutions.

Russian liberalism,—largely revolutionary because of the denial of even elementary rights, such as the freedom of person, of speech, of the press and of meeting,—rights

¹ Cf. Milyoukov, *op. cit.*, p. 246 *et seq.*

which were secured to Englishmen through the Magna Charta—has had the serious task not only of securing these rights but at the same time of creating in Russia the conditions of modern civilization. For the twenty years in which its spirit ruled, during the reign of Alexander II, the reforms begun under its influence amounted to a veritable revolution. The economic, social, political and juridical reforms of this epoch generated new forces and began the modernization of Russia. These reforms encountered the formidable opposition of the nobility and the church and finally of the autocracy, when the latter felt that its position was gradually being undermined, especially by the demand for a constitution. With the assassination of Alexander II, the liberal era was brought to a close, and a reaction was ushered in which has lasted to our day.

The classes that came into power with Alexander III and Pobedonostseff were, from their economic interests, social outlook and political ideals, essentially medieval and may properly be termed the feudal party. Guided by its economic interests—which had been seriously threatened by the emancipation—and swayed by the Slavophilistic philosophy,¹ this party sought to nullify as far as possible the reforms of the epoch of emancipation and to carry through a many-sided program for putting the order of things backward to the medieval, pre-reform days. Autocracy, Greek Orthodoxy and Russian Nationalism—the famous Slavophilistic trinity—were glorified, the first two as peculiarly national institutions, the policy of russification and the repression of non-orthodox faiths by force were proclaimed as vital to the social health of Russia, the blind ignorance and illiteracy of the peasants were extolled as a virtue and the control over them by the nobility was strengthened in

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¹ An interesting statement of the principles of the Slavophiles may be obtained from Simkhovitch (*International Quarterly*, Oct., 1904).

many ways. Freedom of every form was condemned as an aping of the "rotten" civilization of the West with its decaying institutions, and as false to the true Russian national, historical development.

During this period of reaction, however, the liberal movement was kept alive, largely as revolutionary propaganda. The earlier movement had been directed by the educated classes, the "*Intelligenzia*" of Russia. Lately, with the growth of the middle class and a population of industrial workers in the towns and the factories, and a wealthier class of peasants, the cry for reform has become more insistent, and only recently partly successful in results.

Summarizing his impressions of Russian life and institutions obtained while serving as Ambassador to Russia, Andrew D. White remarked: "During two centuries Russia has been coming slowly out of the middle ages—indeed, out of perhaps the most cruel phases of medieval life."¹ One of the phases of this process has been the bitter struggle between the feudal and the modern forces that has occupied Russia for the last third of a century.

II. ROUMANIA

In Roumania,² in spite of a liberal constitution modeled upon the Belgian, granting all rights enjoyed by citizens of a free state, the underlying economic, social and, in a measure, political conditions point to a state of things little removed from the medieval forms of life. The main social-economic classes are the large landed proprietors, composed chiefly of the old nobility or boyars, and the peasants, who were formerly serfs. In the hands of the former are con-

¹ White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1905), vol. ii, p. 35.

² Owing to the similarity of conditions in Russia and Roumania, particularly as regards the Jews, Roumania has been considered, practically throughout, immediately after Russia.

centrated the greater part of the land. (Five thousand large landed proprietors together owned nearly half of the cultivable land.) Nearly a million of peasants, on the other hand, comprising with their dependents a great majority of the population, together owned a little over two-fifths of the cultivable land.¹

This situation is an inheritance from the servile system which existed in Roumania until 1864, when it was legally abolished. The freedom granted to the peasants was, however, more formal than real. The land given them being insufficient for their needs, and pasture land especially having been denied them, they were as a rule compelled to lease land or pasture right from their former masters at ruinous rates, often paying by labor on their former masters' estates. Thus the essential feudal services were in the main continued, especially as the lease and labor contracts, generally drawn up in the interests of the landed proprietor, were often usurious and extremely oppressive.² In twenty years there was little change from the previous condition of serfdom, so that a law was necessary, in 1882, to permit the peasants to work at least two days during the week on their own land.

Since this period there has been practically little change in this essentially feudal relation of the peasantry to the landed proprietors. (As the owners of the great estates are a ruling power in the political life of the country, the greater part of peasants being disqualified from voting through property and educational requirements, the former have been enabled to keep the peasantry in this condition

¹ Kogalniceancu, "Die Agrarfrage in Rumänien" *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. xxxii, p. 804.

² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Jorga, *Geschichte des Rumänischen Volkes* (Gotha, 1905), vol. ii, p. 374.

of semi-servitude.) The result is a state of ignorance, misery and degradation on the part of the peasantry that is difficult to parallel in another European country. That the peasants are not entirely passive under their wrongs is shown in the repeated uprisings against their masters and in the two great social revolutions of 1888 and 1907, both of which were put down by military force.

Roumania's advent into industry and commerce may be dated from the eighties of the last century, and was initiated by the industrial law of 1887, which sought to create a national industry by means of subsidies, land grants and other favors to undertakers of large industrial enterprises. Since then the growth has been sufficiently rapid to place Roumania as the industrial and commercial leader of the Balkan States. Relatively, however, it is still very backward. Only 14 per cent of the population is urban. The industrial laborers are estimated at no more than 40,000. There are only a few cities. Only the largest—Bucarest—has above 100,000 inhabitants, three other cities have between fifty and seventy-five thousand inhabitants. The chief industrial establishments, such as saw mills, flour mills and distilleries, are concerned mainly in the working up of the raw materials produced in the country. (Nevertheless, industrial progress has made for the growth of a small but influential middle class, which divides the control of affairs with the large landed proprietors.) Its influence can be traced in the electoral law, which gives the urban classes, constituting the backbone of the liberal party, a majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

III. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Though relatively far advanced along the road of modern civilization, Austria-Hungary, through its prevailing mode of economic and social life, and through its large

Slavic populations, belongs rather to Eastern than to Western Europe. Historically, it began its modern career about the same time as Russia, when it abolished, in 1867, the feudal services and dues, survivals of the previous servile institutions. Nevertheless, in its large agricultural population, in the primitive system of cultivation generally in vogue, in the scattered character of the peasant holdings, in the strong contrast between the great landed estates or *Latifundia*, held chiefly by the nobility, and the small, even minute, estates of the majority of the peasant proprietors, and in the natural economy prevailing in many parts of the Dual Monarchy and constituting the main foundation upon which the life of the peasants rests—in all these characteristics, is reflected the almost medieval economy which existed in the empire before 1848 and which is not yet entirely outgrown.

Industrially and commercially, Austria, far more than Hungary, has indeed made really remarkable progress. Yet in this respect the greatest contrast exists between the various Austrian provinces. Certain of these—Galicia and Bukowina, for instance—are not only the most backward in these pursuits, but their agricultural population is even relatively increasing. Even in the industrially advanced provinces, such as Lower Austria and Bohemia, the transitional nature of the industrial life is evident in the unspecialized character of a larger portion of the town laborers, many of whom are peasants temporarily employed in factories and mines.

The Austrian organization of industry and commerce is a modernized version of the guilds and crafts of medieval Western Europe. How these medieval economic forms with their underlying psychologic forces still live and dominate Austria, especially its Slavic nationalities, is shown by the revival in 1859 of the Austrian guilds, the direct de-

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scendants of the medieval *Innungen*. These were, in 1883, developed in the form of *Zwangsgenossenschaften* or compulsory trade-guilds, which, in their regulations concerning the *Befähigungsnachweis* or certificate of capacity, the three orders of master, journeyman and apprentice, the principle of compulsory entrance into the local guild, the workman's passport or *Arbeitsbuch*, unite the methods of regulating and restricting industry and trade characteristic of the Middle Ages, with modern methods of combination, arbitration, and assistance of members. By the side of these compulsory guilds are to be found the *Gewerkschaften*, or the modern voluntary trade-unions.

The transition to modern economic and social conditions is, nevertheless, well advanced. This is seen in a decrease of the agricultural classes and an increase of the industrial and commercial classes in the thirty years from 1869 to 1900. Another sign is the fairly strong differentiation of the economic-social classes, in both the agricultural and the industrial groups, which has advanced quite rapidly. The middle class, while neither as large nor as influential as in the countries of Western Europe, has played an important rôle towards hastening this transition.

Politically, the Dual Monarchy occupies a middle ground between absolutist Russia and constitutional England. The court, the nobility and the Roman Church with its strong aristocratic leanings, represent the dominant power in Austria. The economic and social changes of the transitional period have been accompanied by politico-economic struggles which have played a vital part and have cut through and across the racial, national and religious conflicts of this much-distracted conglomeration of peoples. Amid the confusion of parties, with their complexity of programs, may be distinguished the German-Austrian liberals, representatives of the middle class or industrialists, whose historic

mission was to create a modern state in Austria, and who carried out, in large measure, their program of constitutionalism, economic freedom and the secular state. Against them were arrayed the powerful forces of the agrarian party or the landed aristocracy—the upholders of the feudal economic-social order of privilege and class distinction, the clericals—the upholders of the idea of the Christian State—and the representatives of the lower middle class, composed chiefly of petty artisans and traders, whose ideal was the medieval industrial organization, largely co-operative and regulated, as opposed to the individualistic and competitive system of the modern era, with its great concentration of wealth, capital and power in the hands of the middle class. That the present structure of Austria is so much of a compromise and crosspatch between modern and medieval economic, social and political forms, and contains so much that is essentially incongruous, is due largely to the successful struggle which the chief parties of the medieval order—the feudal-clericals—the party of the upper classes, and the Christian Socialists—the party of the lower classes—have waged against the growing constitutionalization, industrialization and secularization of Austria—in short, against the transformation of Austria into a modern state.

It is in Galicia that the conditions obtaining in Russia are largely duplicated. Geographically, racially and socially, Galicia is a part of Russia. Galicia is a preponderatingly agricultural land and possesses the densest agricultural population in Europe. Modern industry is relatively little developed, its place being held to a great extent by the domestic system of industry. The contrast between the large and small estates is sharper here than perhaps in any other section of Europe. The Polish nobility, in whose hands the large estates are mostly found, are the ruling social and political, as well as economic, power in Galicia.

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The autonomous Galician *Diet* is practically the instrument of their interests. A middle class has been gradually rising and contesting their supremacy. The peasantry is one of the most illiterate, degraded, and oppressed in all Europe.

IV. SUMMARY

This brief review of the economic and social conditions in Russia, Roumania and Austria-Hungary has shown that, broadly speaking, these countries present points of similarity in their situation and their recent movement. In all of these countries, economic and social conditions closely resembling those that obtained in the countries of Western Europe several centuries ago were found until comparatively recent times. The abolition of serfdom in Russia and in Roumania, and of feudal dues in Austria-Hungary, paved the way for the entrance of these states into modern European civilization. The succeeding period has been marked by a rapid transition from the old domestic economy to a modern exchange economy, through the growth of industry and commerce. The medieval conditions of the earlier period have nevertheless not been entirely obliterated. They exist, in Russia, in the privileges and powers of the nobility, in the inferior status and oppressed condition of the peasantry, in the strong class distinctions, in the restraints upon economic activity and upon movement. Though in smaller measure, the same conditions are found in Austria-Hungary, especially in Galicia. In Roumania, so far as the peasantry is concerned, the pre-emancipation conditions remain practically, if not legally, in force. Owing to the increase of population, the minute subdivision of the estates of the peasants, the backwardness of their agricultural methods, and their over-taxation, the position of the peasants has been rendered precarious. Revolutionary uprisings directed chiefly against

the landed proprietors have been a recurring expression of their discontent.

An important consequence has been the rapid evolution of the industrial and commercial, or the middle class. The growth of the middle class has been accompanied by a struggle in each of these countries between the privileged classes of the feudal state and the middle class, including in the latter the educated classes and the industrial workers of the towns.

It is in this middle class that the Jews are chiefly to be found. Owing to this fact, as well as through the action of historical conditions, the Jews occupy an exceptional position in the economic activities and the social life of each of the countries of Eastern Europe. A survey of their economic and social position in each country will serve to clarify the last thirty years of their history in Eastern Europe and to give some of the causes underlying their vast movement from these countries to Western Europe and particularly to the United States.

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CHAPTER III

THE JEWS IN EASTERN EUROPE: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POSITION

THE economic and social life of the Jews in Eastern Europe has moved along the familiar channels of commerce, industry and urban life characteristic of the Jews in all countries during the middle ages. An examination of the economic position and function and the principal social characteristics of the Jews reveals the fact that they play an important part in each of these countries. This we shall see by tracing their principal economic activities and some significant phases of their social life.

I. RUSSIA

A review of the occupations of the Jews in the Russian Empire shows that those engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits constituted 39 per cent of the total Jewish population gainfully employed. This was the largest occupational group. Commerce engaged 32 per cent. Together the industrial and commercial classes comprised seven-tenths of all Jews engaged in gainful occupations. On the other hand, only 3 per cent were employed in agricultural pursuits.

It is in comparison with the occupations of the non-Jewish population in Russia that the significance of this distribution becomes evident. Of the non-Jews in Russia, agricultural pursuits engaged 61 per cent, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits 15 per cent, and commerce only 3 per cent. The non-Jews engaged in industry and com-

merce thus constituted somewhat less than one-fifth of the total non-Jewish population gainfully employed. More than twice as many Jews, relatively, as non-Jews were engaged in industrial pursuits and practically twelve times as many Jews as non-Jews in commercial pursuits.¹

This difference of occupational grouping makes itself felt in the participation of the Jews in the principal occupational groups. Of the total Russian population gainfully employed, the Jews were 5 per cent. They constituted, however, 11 per cent of all engaged in industry, and 36 per cent of all engaged in commerce.² Thus, in the Russian Empire the Jews formed a considerable proportion of the commercial classes and a large proportion of those engaged in industrial pursuits.

Properly to gauge the economic function of the Jews in Russia, comparison should be made not with the population of the Russian Empire but rather with that of the Pale of Settlement, where nearly 95 per cent of the Jews live. There the contrast was even stronger. Of the Jews, 70 per cent were employed in industry and commerce as compared with 13 per cent on the part of the non-Jews. Though the Jews are only 12 per cent of the total working population of the Pale, they formed 32 per cent of all engaged in industry and 77 per cent of all engaged in commerce.³ This clearly shows that the Jews constituted the commercial classes and a significant part of the industrial classes of the Pale. In other words, what is true of the place of the Jews in the occupational distribution of all Russia is still more true of the Pale. The Jews are prepon-

¹ Rubinow, *Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia* (Washington, 1907), p. 500.

² Cf. table IA, p. 158.

³ Cf. table IB, p. 158.

Rubinow, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

deratingly industrial and commercial, in striking contrast to the rest of the population, which is preponderatingly agricultural.

What is the nature of their activities and their function in the industrial and commercial life of Russia? The great majority of Jews engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits are artisans. In the present relatively backward stage of Russian industrial development these are chiefly handicraftsmen, who mainly supply the needs of local consumers. These artisans, who number more than half a million,¹ support nearly one-third of the Jewish population.

The most important industry is the manufacture of clothing and wearing apparel, which employed more than one-third of the Jewish working population and supported more than one-seventh of the total Jewish population. It is in effect a Jewish industry: practically all the tailors and shoemakers in the Pale are Jews. They predominate as well in the preparation of food products, in the building trades, in the metal, wood and tobacco industries.² Hampered by legal restrictions, lack of technical education, and lack of capital, they nevertheless have become an essential part of the economic life of the Pale, supplying the needs for industrial products not only of the Jews but of the entire Pale, and, especially of the peasants.

In the development of large-scale industry, the Jews have taken a smaller part than the Germans or foreigners, owing to the conditions above referred to. Yet, in 1898, in the fifteen provinces of the Pale, more than one-third of the factories were in Jewish hands.³ Jewish factory

¹ Margolin puts the number at 600,000.

² Ruppin, *Die Sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland* (Berlin, 1906), p. 59.

³ Rubinow, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

workers were estimated at one-fifth of all the factory workers in the Pale.¹

Trade and commerce engage Jews chiefly, supporting nearly two-thirds of the total Jewish population.²

As Russia is essentially an agricultural country, trade in agricultural products, such as grain, cattle, furs and hides, *etc.*, is of prime importance. Nearly half of the Jewish merchants in the Pale were dealers in these products. Of the dealers in the principal grain products, Jews formed an overwhelming majority. Relatively twenty-six times as many Jews as Russians, in the Pale, were grain dealers.³ Four-fifths of all the dealers in furs and hides, three-fourths of all the dealers in cattle were Jews.⁴ The Jewish traders are agents in the movement of the crops, in the various stages from the direct purchase of the grain from the peasant to its export for the world markets. In view of the lack of development in Russia of modern methods for marketing the agricultural produce, and in view of the fact that the Russian peasant is ignorant of the most elementary principles of trade, the Jewish merchants, with their knowledge of the market and their skillful use of credit, play a vital part in the organization of the Russian grain trade, and control this trade in the Pale and on the Black Sea.

In other branches of commerce, the Jews are almost as strongly represented. As sellers to the village and city populations, they carry on the largest part of the retail trade of the Pale. The great majority of the merchants, however, are petty traders or store-keepers. The wholesale merchants enrolled in the guilds, on the other hand, constitute a large proportion of all the guild merchants.

¹ Rubinow, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

² *Ibid.*, p. 553.

³ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴ Rubinow, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

Thus, through their activity as petty artisans, traders and merchants, the Jews preponderate in the industrial and commercial life of the Pale. As manufacturers and wholesale merchants they play a less important but nevertheless significant part in all Russia.

In general the Jewish merchants are quite strongly distinguished from the Russian merchants in their employment of the competitive principles and methods common to the commercial operations of Western Europe and the United States. Their principle of a quick turnover with a small profit, and their use of credit, are not in vogue among the Russian merchants who operate on the basis of customary prices and long credits.

In their social characteristics as well, the Jews are strongly set off from the rest of the population. The Jews are essentially urban, the non-Jews are overwhelmingly rural. In all Russia, 51 per cent of the Jews lived in incorporated towns, as against only 12 per cent of the non-Jews. Though the Jews constituted 4 per cent of the total population, they constituted 16 per cent of the town population.¹ In the Pale, where they constituted 12 per cent of the total population, they comprised 38 per cent of the urban population.² Their concentration in the cities of the Pale is striking. (In nine out of the fifteen provinces of the Pale, they constituted a majority of the urban population.) In twenty-four towns, they were from two-fifths to seven-tenths of the population. In the important cities of Warsaw and Odessa they were one-third of the population.³

The urban and occupational distribution of the Jews places them higher than the great majority of the non-Jews

¹ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

² Rubinow, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

³ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

among the social classes into which the Russian people are legally divided. Townsmen are of a higher rank than peasants. Nearly 95 per cent of the Jews belong to this category and only 7 per cent of the Russians. The vast majority of the Russians—86 per cent—are peasants. Only 4 per cent of the Jews are of this class. Again, 2 per cent of the Jews are merchants, as against only .2 per cent of the Russians. Thus in these two classes of townsmen and merchants there were twelve times as many Jews, relatively, as Russians.¹

The higher cultural standing of the Jews may be partly measured by the relative literacy of the Jews and of the total population. According to the census of 1897, in the Jewish population ten years of age or over there were relatively one and a half times as many literates as in the total population of the corresponding group. In each of the age-groups there were relatively more literates among the Jews than among the total population. In the highest age-group, that of sixty years of age and over, the Jews had relatively more literates than any of the age-groups of the total population, indicating that the educational standing of the Jews half a century ago was higher than that of the Russian population of to-day.²

⌈The fact that the Jews dwell chiefly in towns has considerably to do with their higher educational standing. ⌋ If the statistics of relative literacy of the Jewish and the non-Jewish population in the towns were obtainable, the chances are strong that they would not show a much higher rate of literacy on the part of the Jews. At the same time the difficulties that are put in the way of Jewish attendance in the

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¹ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² Rubinow, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-578.

elementary schools must be regarded as a considerable factor in explaining this possibility.¹

The participation of the Jews in the liberal professions, which implies the possession of a higher education, is also very large, even with the great obstacles that have been placed in the way of the entrance of the Jews into the universities, into the liberal professions and the state service. Relatively seven times as many Jews as Russians are found in the liberal professions.²

II. ROUMANIA

The economic activities of the Jews in Roumanian industry and commerce closely resemble those of their Russian brethren.³ The large part taken by the Jews in Roumanian commerce may be gathered from the fact that, in 1904, one-fifth of those who paid the merchant-license tax were Jews. Equally great is their participation in large-scale industry, where, as an inquiry in 1901-2 shows, nearly one-fifth of the large industries were conducted by Jewish entrepreneurs. In some of the most important ones—the glass industry, the clothing industry, the wood and furniture industry and the textile industry—from one-fourth to one-half of the total number of entrepreneurs were Jews.

As in the case of Russia, it is in *Klein-industrie* or handicraft, which is more nearly characteristic of the

¹ In a personal communication to the writer, Dr. Rubinow gives it as his opinion that the Jews as a group consisting primarily of artisans and merchants will show a very much higher rate of literacy than a group of factory employes, and, we may add, of unskilled laborers, to which groups the majority of the non-Jews in the towns belong.

² Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³ On the economic activities and social characteristics of the Jews in Roumania, cf. Ruppin, *Die Juden in Rumänien*, p. 27 et seq.

present form of Roumanian industrial economy, that the Jews are mostly concentrated and where they participate so largely as to constitute "the backbone of the young Roumanian industry".

The latest inquiry—that of 1908—shows that the Jews were one-fifth of all inscribed in the corporations as artisans. They formed more than one-fourth of the master-workmen and nearly one-sixth of the laborers. In the five principal industries Jewish master-workmen formed from nearly one-tenth to nearly one-half. In the following trades Jews formed between one-fourth and nearly two-thirds of the entire workers: watchmakers, tinnern, modistes, tailors, glazers, housepainters, coopers and bookbinders. In all the garment industries nearly one-third of the workers were Jews. The principal trades of the Jews, in which two-thirds of the Jewish industrial workers were found, were, in order: tailors, shoemakers, tinnern, joiners and planers, and bakers.¹ The Jews in Roumania were thus more strongly concentrated in industry and less in commerce than their Russian brethren.

As masters and workmen they play a part in Roumanian large-scale and small-scale industry nearly four and a half times as large as their proportion in the total population. Their participation in commerce is equally large.

The Jews in Roumania present the same social characteristics, relatively to the surrounding population, as the Jews in Russia. The Jews were overwhelmingly concentrated in the towns. 80 per cent of the Jews dwelt in the towns; 84 per cent of the non-Jews dwelt in the villages. Of the population in the department-capitals the Jews constituted one-fifth. Of the population of the other towns they constituted more than one-tenth. In some of the department-

¹ *Enquête sur les artisans* (Bucarest, 1909), p. 157 et seq.

capitals, notably Jassi, the Jews were a majority of the total population. In six other department-capitals they constituted from one-fourth to one-half of the population.

That the Jews are of a higher educational standing than the Roumanians is seen in the fact that they possessed a higher rate of literacy, having relatively twice as many literates among the males and nearly twice as many among the females. Confining this comparison to the cities, however, we find that the Jews had a higher literacy only in the age-groups above fifteen. The Roumanian urban population between the ages of seven and fifteen showed a higher literacy than the corresponding group among the Jews, indicating the influence of the special restrictions on Jewish education which will later be discussed.

While the higher literacy of the Jews in Russia and Roumania is due partly to residence in towns, the restrictions on the Jewish participation in the educational facilities afforded by the Russian and Roumanian governments have been so great as to make the higher educational standing of the Jews practically a product of their own efforts.

III. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The economic position of the Jews in Austria-Hungary presents a close parallel to that in Russia. The largest proportion of the Jews—44 per cent—were engaged in commerce and in trade, and 29 per cent were engaged in industry.¹ A significantly large proportion were engaged in public service and in the liberal professions. A surprisingly large proportion—11 per cent—were engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. Thus, a little over seven-tenths of the Jews were concentrated in commerce and trade, and industry.

¹ Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (Berlin, 1908), p. 112.

The contrast between the Jewish and the non-Jewish population is most striking in the relative proportions of those engaged in agriculture, and commerce and trade. 54 per cent of the non-Jews were engaged in agriculture, or five times as many, relatively, as Jews. On the other hand, only 8 per cent were engaged in commerce and trade, or relatively one-fifth as many as Jews.

Of the total population engaged in commerce and trade the Jews constituted 21 per cent. They constituted, on the other hand, 5 per cent of all engaged in industry. Thus, the Jews in Austria-Hungary were concentrated in commerce and trade to a much larger extent than in all other occupations, constituting an important part of all engaged in this branch.

It is in Galicia, however, where conditions in general most resemble those in Russia, that the Jews are seen to occupy relatively the same position as their brethren in Russia. In Galicia, 29 per cent of the Jews were engaged in commerce and trade, and 26 per cent in industry. Together the Jews engaged in these two branches constituted more than half of the total Jewish working population.

By far the largest part of the non-Jewish population—86 per cent—were engaged in agriculture. In industry only 4 per cent of the non-Jews were engaged and in commerce only 1 per cent. Thus the Jews were largely concentrated in commerce and industry, the non-Jews preponderatingly concentrated in agriculture.

As compared with the Jews in Russia and Roumania the Galician Jews engaged in agriculture show a surprising proportion—18 per cent being so engaged—a larger proportion than in any other country.

The Jews in East Galicia were 13 per cent of the total

population.¹ Of all the "independents" engaged in commerce in East Galicia 92 per cent were Jews; of all the "independents" engaged in industry 48 per cent were Jews. The Jews in West Galicia were 8 per cent of the total population. Of all "independents" engaged in commerce they constituted 82 per cent; of all "independents" engaged in industry they constituted 33 per cent. This gives the crux of the economic position of the Jews in Galicia. They play an overwhelming part in its commercial life, practically monopolizing it. In industry their participation is very significant.

Socially the Jews in Austria-Hungary and especially in Galicia, present characteristics similar to those in Russia and Roumania. In the forty cities in Galicia with a population above five thousand there dwelt 34 per cent of the total Jewish population. Only 7 per cent of the non-Jewish population lived in these cities. Thus, relatively five times as many Jews as non-Jews were urban. Though the Jews in Galicia were 11 per cent of the total population, they constituted 37 per cent of the population in these cities, thus being represented in the cities by more than three times their proportion in the total population. In nine of these towns they formed a majority of the population. They were more than one-third in twelve, and more than one-fourth in eleven other towns. In the two chief cities in Galicia—Lemberg and Cracow—they constituted a third of the total population.

The figures regarding literacy are not available for Austria-Hungary or Galicia, but there is every reason to believe that essentially the same situation exists as in Russia and Roumania. In the liberal professions in Austria-Hungary there were 16 per cent of the Jews so engaged as

¹ Thon, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

compared with 11 per cent of the non-Jews. In Galicia the contrast is much sharper. Relatively ten times as many Jews as non-Jews were represented in the liberal professions.¹

IV. SUMMARY

A review of the occupations, economic function and social characteristics of the Jews in the countries of Eastern Europe reveals them in an important and essentially similar rôle in each country. Pursuing mainly industrial and commercial occupations, the Jews constitute by far the largest part of the middle classes of each country. The historical position which they held in the ancient kingdom of Poland as the middle class has been practically maintained to this day.

By virtue of their occupations, the Jews are possessed of liquid wealth to a greater extent than the nobility or the peasantry, and in the lack of proper credit facilities still serve as bankers and money-lenders. The Jews have also been conspicuous in Eastern Europe as stewards or administrators of the estates of the nobility, who are, as a rule, absentee landlords, distinguished as a class by their serious lack of interest or ability in the management of their estates. The Jewish *Hofjuden*, as they were known, were particularly useful in the utilization of the products of the soil, through distilleries, mills, trade with agricultural products and exploitation of the forests.² In this way, however, Jews often acted as intermediaries in the oppression of the peasantry by the nobles. They were often keepers or lessees of the taverns, the ownership of which was formerly vested in the nobles as one of their feudal privileges.

It is, however, as artisans, industrial laborers and mer-

¹ Thon, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

² *Grenzboten: Galizische Wirtschaft*, vol. lxii, p. 402.

chants, retail and wholesale, that Jews chiefly obtain their living. Their monopoly of industry and commerce has given them an influence far above their numerical proportions.

In each of these countries, again, the Jews are essentially town dwellers in the midst of preponderatingly rural populations. That the degree of the contrast is due to the artificial workings of restrictive laws is unquestioned. The chief reason for this, however, is occupational. The Jews as an industrial and commercial people constitute one of the main elements out of which the town populations are recruited. Towns are ordinarily the foci of all the cultural forces and the movement and enterprise of a country. In Eastern Europe, where the number of towns is so few, this is much more the case than in Western Europe. The fact that the Jews are so largely concentrated in these comparatively few towns serves to give them a cultural position and influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Their economic activities and their relatively large participation in the liberal professions strengthens this position considerably.

Amidst populations preponderatingly devoted to agricultural occupations and dwelling in villages, the Jews represent an industrial and commercial people, strongly concentrated in towns. This economic and social position of the Jews is of the greatest significance, especially in the present period of transition in these countries. Possessed of the characteristics of a modern people in their economic and social life and in their mentality, they present a sharp contrast with the peoples among whom they dwell and whose economic and social life are only now taking on modern forms. It is this that makes the Jews personify in a large degree the forces of economic enterprise and of social progress in these countries.

On the other hand, the exceptional economic and social

position held by the Jews among the East-European peoples has made them peculiarly susceptible to the changes that have been taking place, as their inferior legal status and sharp differentiation from the mass of the people have made them favorable objects of attack in the politico-economic struggles that have largely accompanied the transition.

A consideration of the legal status of the Jews in each of the countries of Eastern Europe and of the chief forces that have ruled their history for more than a third of a century will enable us to see some of the dynamic aspects of the recent history of the East-European Jews and the underlying causes of their recent emigration.

CHAPTER IV

THIRTY YEARS OF JEWISH HISTORY IN EASTERN EUROPE

I. RUSSIA

RELIGIOUS intolerance had been the prime motive of Russia's policy of completely excluding the Jews from her borders. Through the partitions of Poland from 1772 to 1795, she became the unwilling ruler over the destinies of millions of Jews living in Lithuania, Western and South-western Russia and Poland proper. The historic medieval principle by which the Jews were regarded as an alien and heretic race living among the Christian peoples—a principle that had, with the growth of modern ideas, been rapidly losing its hold upon the West-European nations—expressed Russia's attitude towards the Jews and conformed to her strongly medieval outlook and organization of this period. Thus, at the time when the emancipation of the Jews had begun to be in Western Europe a concomitant of social progress, Russia set to work to recreate almost typically medieval conditions for a vaster Jewish population than had ever before been assembled in any European country.

The Jews were placed in the position practically of aliens, whose activities were regulated by special laws. The first and the most far-reaching of these laws limited their right of residence to those provinces in which they lived at the time of the Polish partitions. In this way originated that reproduction on a vast scale of the medieval Ghetto—

the Pale of Jewish Settlement. The elementary right of free movement and choice of residence, which was denied to the Jews, has remained the principal restriction to which they are subjected.

The Pale of Jewish Settlement, continued with but few changes to our day, includes the fifteen provinces of Western and Southwestern Russia—Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, Minsk, Vitebsk, Mohileff, Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev (except the city of Kiev), Chernigov, Poltava, Bessarabia, Kher-son, ~~Ek~~katerinoslav, Taurida (except the city of Yalta), and the ten provinces into which Poland is divided—Warsaw, Kalisz, Kielce, Lomza, Lublin, Petrikow, Plock, Radom, Suvalk and Siedlec. From the rest of the eighty-nine provinces and territories—constituting nearly 95 per cent of the total territory of the Russian Empire—the Jews were excluded.

In the course of a century the special laws relating to the Jews have multiplied greatly until they now consist of more than a thousand articles, regulating their religious and communal life, economic activities and occupations, military service, property rights, education, *etc.*, and imposing special taxes over and above those borne by all other Russian subjects. The direct consequence of these laws was to mark the status of the Jews as the lowest in the Empire, placing them in the position of aliens as to rights and citizens as to obligations.¹

The policy of the Russian government throughout the 19th century has been full of contrasts and contradictions. Attempts at forcible russification and assimilation, which with Nicholas I practically spelled conversion, have alternated with methods of repression which sought to prevent

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars* (New York, 1894), vol. iii, p. 558.

closer contact between the Jewish and the native populations.

It was the liberal epoch of Alexander II that gave the first real promise of emancipation to Russian Jewry. The great reforms of this era benefited the Jews along with the other subjects of the Empire. With the influence of the liberals over the government there came a new attitude regarding the Jews and their value as economic and cultural forces. Partly to relieve the intense competition in the Pale, harmful both to the Christian and the Jewish populations, but chiefly to give the provinces of interior Russia the benefit of the superior industrial and commercial, and professional abilities of the Jews, laws were enacted allowing certain classes of Jews to live outside of the Pale. These were, chiefly, master-artisans, merchants of the first guild, students and graduates of universities and higher educational institutions, and members of the liberal professions.

With these laws and with the opening of the high schools and universities to the Jews, the movement for Russianization received a mighty impetus. Though these reforms, hedged about and limited by onerous conditions, affected comparatively few and hardly touched the life of the Jewish masses in a radical way, nevertheless, the impulse which even these relatively slight reforms gave to the current of Jewish life in Russia was far out of proportion to the relief they afforded. Jewish hopes for a final emancipation soared high: it seemed as if the walls of the Pale needed but little more to be broken down.

The reaction that followed the assassination of Alexander II fell upon the Jews as a national calamity. To the feudal party which now came into control, the Jews seemed the very embodiment of the forces in the Empire whose progress they were seeking to stem. No other nationality

in the Russian Empire concentrated in itself so many characteristics and tendencies opposed to the ideals and interests of the Russian ruling classes. To the Church, dominated by a religio-national point of view, they were the very opposite of her ideal type of Russian orthodox, their very existence in Russia being regarded as an anomaly and as an actual and possible influence in disintegrating the religious faith of the orthodox peasants. To the nationalists they were an alien people racially and religiously, whose assimilation with the Russian people was neither possible nor desirable. To the autocracy and the bureaucracy there was the added fear from their intellectual superiority and their zeal for education of their playing a powerful part among the liberal forces seeking political freedom. Indeed, the Jews, whose economic and cultural activities and interests bound them closely to Western Europe and were in themselves modernizing and liberalizing influences, growing all the stronger through the greater freedom offered them during the liberal epoch, excited the deep repugnance of the feudal forces now directing the destinies of the state. To them the Jews spelled anathema. Separated from the great masses of the Russian people by race, nationality, religion, occupations and other social and psychological characteristics, they offered an unusually favorable object of attack. ✓

It soon became clear that the new régime had determined upon making the Jews a central feature in their policy of reaction. At once a many-sided campaign against the Jews was begun. A powerful machinery of persecution was at hand in the existing Jewish laws. All that was necessary was to revive them, to interpret them rigorously, to tighten the legislative screws which had become loosened during the preceding liberal régime. This, however, seemed insufficient. It was determined that a powerful and definitive

blow must be struck at the roots of their very existence in Russia.

The main attack was economic. The industrial and commercial activities of the Jews, especially in the Pale, make them, as we have seen, among the chief industrial producers for the peasants, as well as the chief buyers of their agricultural produce. <This contact between the Jews and the peasants was a vital need in the economic life of both.> The familiar charge that the Jews were exploiters of the peasantry was revived. Behind this charge lay the medieval economic prejudice, which attributes no really useful rôle to the merchant or trader.¹ In a custom-ridden economic order, the competitive methods of the Jewish traders smacked of commercial deceit. Principally, however, this charge served for a convenient explanation of the change of policy towards the Jews.

In this wise were introduced the "Temporary Regulations" of May, 1882, or the May Laws, the main clauses of which are the following:

101 1. As a temporary measure and until a general revision is made of the legal status of the Jews, they are forbidden to settle anew outside of towns and townlets (boroughs), an exception being made only in the case of existing Jewish agricultural colonies.

2. Until further orders, the execution of deeds of sale and mortgage in the names of Jews is forbidden, as well as the registration of Jews as lessees of real estate situated outside of towns and townlets, and also the issuing to Jews of powers of stewardship or attorney to manage and dispose of such real property.

¹ For an example of typically medieval economic notions regarding trade and commerce prevalent among the feudal classes of Eastern Europe, cf. Carmen Sylva's criticism on the economic activities of the Jews in Roumania in *Century*, March, 1906.

The May Laws may be regarded as an extension of the general principle underlying the creation of the Pale. Through the first clause they were now to be forbidden free movement even within the Pale. As far as possible, their contact with the peasantry was to be cut off. The second clause aimed to put an end to the ownership by Jews of land in rural districts and the employment of Jews as stewards or managers of estates. A further construction of this clause forbade Jews to be connected with any business directly or indirectly depending upon the purchase of landed property outside of the towns of the Pale, thus debarring them from the utilization of land for industrial and commercial, as well as for agricultural purposes.

In the actual execution of these laws, and in the legal interpretations given them by the highest courts, the effect was far greater. A series of wholesale expulsions from the villages into the towns of the Pale began, on the ground of illegal residence. This was increased by the device, which became normal, of renaming towns as villages—easily possible in Russia where towns are frequently only administrative units—the resident Jews then being expelled as illegal settlers. Again, movement within the villages even on the part of Jews who had the right to live in villages was prohibited.

A further effect of this change in policy was upon the position of the Jews outside of the Pale, who enjoyed the right of residence in the interior of Russia, through the laws of the preceding régime. A stricter interpretation of these laws, added to a change in the administrative policy, had the effect not only of stopping the comparatively slight current of Jewish artisans into the interior of Russia, but also of starting a never-ending series of expulsions from the interior to the Pale. These expulsions have since continued, with individuals, families and whole groups, until

they have become a constant phenomenon of Jewish life in Russia and a familiar item of world news.

While the May Laws thus touched to the quick the economic life of the Russian Jews, another series of laws sought to break down their cultural life by barring them from the higher educational and professional institutions. The contrast with the policy of the preceding régime was here as complete as possible. The principle of liberal assimilation with regard to the Jews had dictated the policy of opening wide to them the doors of the secondary schools and universities, and the liberal professions. The new régime, however, not only opposed education generally, and higher education particularly, as the means by which the reform and westernization of Russia was being accomplished, but it regarded the russification of the Jews as a special evil. Culturally as well, the Jews were to be separated from the Russian people.

Hence the introduction of the "percentage rule" in 1886 and 1887, restricting the proportion of Jewish students admitted to the secondary and high schools, and universities, within the Pale, to 10 per cent of the total number of students admitted. Outside of the Pale, the proportion was 5 per cent, except in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where it was placed at 3 per cent. In addition, the Jews were completely barred from a number of these institutions. As the Jews constituted so large a part of the populations in the towns of the Pale and had distinguished themselves in Russia as elsewhere by the eagerness with which they grasped the educational and professional opportunities offered them, the introduction of the "percentage rule" meant that the vast majority of the Jewish youth were to be deprived of the normal chances for education. Thus the "percentage rule", which was extended to institutions founded by the Jews themselves, was almost as great a blow

Numbers
class

as the May Laws. It threatened the cultural ruin of Russian Jewry. Bound up as the admission to these schools was with the liberal professions and with the opportunity of escaping from the limits of the Pale, it meant that one of the main highways to freedom in Russia had been closed to the Jews.

The most striking method of repression introduced by the new régime and its feudal supporters was that combination of murder, outrage and pillage—the *pogrom*. The revival of this characteristic expression of the antisemitism of the middle ages was not the result of spontaneous outbreaks of fury on the part of the Russian masses, but a deliberate and calculated awakening of latent racial and religious prejudices, evoked as powerful aids to inflame against the Jews the Russian masses, who are, religiously speaking, a tolerant people and whose relations to the Jews had been marked, on the whole, with friendliness.

The first *pogroms* began a month after the accession of Alexander III to the throne, and extended in the course of a year to 160 places in Southern Russia. Though the connivance of the local authorities was clearly established, the originators of the *pogroms* were never found.¹ However, moral support was lent by the government in the promulgation of the May Laws which closely followed. The doctrine that the misery of the peasants was due to their exploitation by the Jews, and that the *pogroms* were the instinctive expression of the fury of the peasants, was officially sanctioned. The *pogroms* of 1881-2 served as notice to all Russia and particularly to Russian Jewry, that the old order had given place to the new. Apart from the loss of life and damage to property they left the Russian

¹ The part played by the authorities in these *pogroms* is discussed by A. Linden in *Die Judenpogromen*, vol. i, pp. 12-96.

Dobner says
this view

Jews in a state of stupefaction and horror, with the sense of living on the brink of a precipice.

The first decade of Alexander III's reign had opened with these *pogroms*. [The second decade opened with the wholesale expulsions from Moscow.] Within six months, more than ten thousand Jews were expelled from the city on the ground of illegal residence. So vast a number of Jewish families was affected and so summary was the manner of executing the decree of expulsion, that several governments, among them our own, protested to the Russian government. President Harrison, discussing this protest in his message to Congress, frankly stated that

1891
the banishment, whether by direct decree or by not less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is in the nature of things an order to enter another—some other. This consideration, as well as the suggestion of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia.¹

nd - without
of history
The expulsions were preceded by a year of ominous rumors of a program of new restrictions beside which the May Laws would pale into insignificance. An offer of ten million dollars for the cause of Jewish education made by Baron de Hirsch to the Russian government was refused. His scheme, however, for the organization of a mass-emigration of Jews to Argentine was sanctioned. All these facts lent strength to the feeling of the Jews that they had nothing to hope for under the existing régime. Thus closed the reign of Alexander III and a memorable chapter in Russian Jewish history.

The early years of Nicholas II were marked by a relax-

¹ President Harrison's Message is given in Appendix A, page 199.

ation in the strict administration and interpretation of the existing restrictive laws. Hopes for the amelioration of the Jewish situation began to be entertained. These hopes were destined shortly to be shattered.

The first decade of the twentieth century opened with threatening unrest. Economic depression began and was accompanied by revolutionary attacks. For the Jews, the most alarming symptom was the rise and uninterrupted progress of a group of antisemitic agitators and Russian loyalists, who sought to counteract the revolutionary movement by denouncing the Jews as the leaders of the revolution and the enemies of the autocracy and the Orthodox religion. Thus was sown the seed of the Kishineff massacre of April, 1903, which lasted three days. Before the echoes of Kishineff had died away, the massacre at Gomel followed.

But Kishineff proved to be merely a bloody prelude. The air was surcharged with explosives. The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war and of the first organized revolution created a dangerous combination of events for the Jews. To the discontent of the peasants, forced to go to the front in a war for which they had no enthusiasm, and sore with the reverses of the Russian army, was added the increased activity of the agitators who declared that the war with Japan had been forced upon Russia by the Jews, eager to profit through its ruin, and who called upon their followers and the peasants through propaganda and proclamations to revenge themselves upon the Jews. The government at bay, on the verge of breakdown under the revolutionary attacks, and anxious to excuse its incompetency and failure in the conduct of the war, sought a means of diverting the peasants from the uprisings against the landed proprietors spreading over the land, and, above all, of stifling the revolution, which had met with such opportune and unlooked-

1903

for success among all classes. This was a situation alive with danger for the Jews, whose proletarians in the cities had taken an active part in the revolution. The organization of Jewish massacres by responsible agents of the government became the central feature of its program of counter-revolution.¹ A veritable holocaust ensued in nearly every province of the Empire for two years, only the climaxes of which became known to the world in Zhitomir, Odessa, Bialystok, and Siedlec.

The rôle of the bureaucracy in the creation of the pogroms, especially in 1906, in which year there took place hundreds of pogroms, was made abundantly clear by the Russian press, by Prince Urussov's disclosures in the Duma, and by the report of the Duma Commission appointed to investigate the causes of the Bialystok pogrom of 1906. As announced in their official report, an investigation had shown that the relations between the Jews and the Christians of Bialystok previous to the bloodshed had been amicable, and that preparations for a pogrom had been deliberately and carefully made by agents of the bureaucracy and carried out with the aid of the local authorities.

Both periods of pogroms in these thirty years were periods of revolution. In both the government had felt the ground shaking under its feet from terroristic attacks and from peasant uprisings. In the first period Jews had taken only slight part. In the late revolution, however, the participation of the Jews of the Pale, through the Jewish labor organization, the Bund, was quite strong. The earlier pogroms gave a hint as to the policy of the new régime. The later ones occurred at the end of years of

¹ Sémenoff, *The Russian Government and the Jewish Massacres* (London, 1907), pp. 147-167.

1903
-1906
Jewry
pogroms
and Jewry
bureaucracy

repression and persecution, and were a culminating point in the fury of the reactionary forces at their failure to stem the tide of liberalism in the struggle for parliamentary institutions and for the rights of citizens in a modern state.

The results of these thirty years of reaction remain to be considered. Though the effects of the *pogroms* upon the Russian Jews can hardly be overestimated, the less evident, because less spectacular, methods of restrictive law and administrative action have in the long run left a far more enduring impress. // KEY

The introduction of the May Laws at the very beginning of the eighties awakened the Jews to the realization that their future in Russia was threatened. The May Laws and the laws that were developed from them, the obstacles that were placed in the way of Jewish education and, in general, the administrative difficulties that were created, have affected every movement of their life.

Freedom of movement of the individual is the very essence of the life of modern states and the basis of their economic, social and political institutions. The lack of this freedom, especially to the extent created by the May Laws, bars the Jews from the possibilities of normal economic growth and progress. The Jewish manufacturers and capitalists are prevented from participating in the industrial and commercial development of Russia, which is so rapidly proceeding and to which, owing to their economic position and capacities, they could powerfully contribute. Legal interference with economic activities, so frequently the rule in Russia, is emphasized in the case of the Jews.

A far more serious situation confronts the great mass of the Jewish artisans, petty merchants and factory workers, to which the vast majority of the Jews belong. Largely prevented access to their natural customers, the peasants, by the prohibition of rural residence, and confined to the

relatively few towns of the Pale, where over-crowding and over-competition are the necessary and unavoidable results, the Jewish artisans and petty merchants have a bitter struggle to maintain a position of economic independence.

Added to this, there is the social pressure to which the Jews have been subjected. Not until this period has the century-long position of the Jews as the "pariahs of the Empire" been so sharply emphasized. Enmeshed in a net of special laws and regulations, at the mercy of ministerial decree, secret circular, arbitrary administrative act, law has lost all meaning for the Jews. In this atmosphere they exist mainly through bribery, at once their bane and their salvation.

REY // The unusual economic and social pressure exerted by the reactionary régime upon its Jewish subjects, through the new restrictive laws that were put into operation during the last thirty years, the administrative harrying that became the order of the day and the introduction of the hitherto unused method of physical repression, the *pogrom*, becomes clear in the light of its policy. Beginning as a movement to suppress the Jews in their economic and cultural activities, and to separate them as far as possible from their Russian neighbors, the anti-Jewish program became in its final form the expulsion and extermination of the Jews from Russia. The historic sentence of Count Ignatiev, author of the May Laws, at the very beginning of this period, "the Western borders are open to you Jews", strikes the keynote of this policy. And, in fact, for practically the first time in its history, the Russian government relaxed in 1892 its rigorous rules forbidding emigration, and gave its sanction to Baron de Hirsch's plan of organizing a vast emigration of Jews from Russia, which its author hoped would, at the end of a quarter of a century, result in the complete transplantation of the Jews from Russia. The

famous principle of the Russian government, "once a Russian always a Russian", was for once put aside in favor of the Jews. They were given one right not enjoyed by other Russians, that of leaving Russia under the obligation of abandoning Russian citizenship forever.¹

II. ROUMANIA

Up to very recent years, the history of the Jews in Roumania centers about those resident in Moldavia. Its proximity to ancient Poland and close association with Bessarabia, naturally made for a back-and-forth movement of the Polish and Russian Jews, whose settlement was invited by the boyars or landed nobility because of resulting industrial and commercial advantages.

The position of the Jews in Moldavia up to the middle of the nineteenth century did not differ to any extent from that of their brethren in Russia. Moldavia, as a Christian state, denied civil and political rights to all non-Christians. The Jews in Moldavia were regarded as aliens, whose activities were subject to special regulation. The beginning of the last century witnessed the first special Jewish laws. The Jews were forbidden to buy the products of the soil, to acquire real property; non-resident Jews were debarred unless they could prove an occupation and show the possession of property. Definite restrictions as to occupation, residence in the villages, the ownership, in villages, of houses, land, vineyards, *etc.*, existed. As vagabonds they could be expelled from the country by administrative decree. Thus was their legal status fixed.

The emancipation of Jews was first demanded by the liberal party during the revolutionary days of 1848. But no practical change resulted until the Convention of Paris in 1856, which, in granting autonomy to the two provinces,

¹ Immigration Commission: *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, pp. 261-262.

guaranteed civil rights to all Moldavians, regardless of creed. Though political rights were granted only to Christian Moldo-Wallachians, the provision was made that, by legislative arrangements, the enjoyment of political rights could be extended to other creeds. Thus was established the possibility of a gradual emancipation of the Jews, foreshadowed in the communal law of 1864, which granted the right of naturalization to certain classes of native Roumanian Jews. Those who had passed through college or had a recognized foreign degree, or who had founded a factory in the land employing at least fifty workmen were among the favored classes.

Shortly afterwards, this section was abrogated, and, with the abdication of the liberal Couza and the accession of Charles Hohenzollern, the present king, to the throne, the situation changed. Article VII of the constitution of the newly-created kingdom read that foreigners not of the Christian faith could not be naturalized. As within the term foreigner the great mass of the Jews residing in the land was included, this was a denial of the conditions laid down in the Treaty of Paris. At the same time, old laws against the Jews which had fallen into abeyance were revived, expulsions of the Jews from the villages into the towns began to take place with great frequency, laws requiring all sellers of liquor in rural communes to be naturalized Roumanians deprived many Jewish families of a livelihood—in short, the usual symptoms of anti-Jewish activity became the order of the day.

It was at the famous Berlin Congress, convened to decide questions created by the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, that the subject of the Jewish disabilities in Roumania was brought up, in connection with the demand of Roumania for recognition as an independent state. The chief objection made especially by the representatives of three of the

European powers—France, England and Germany—was Roumania's treatment of the Jews. It was finally decided by the Congress to recognize her independence on the condition that she grant civil and political equality to all her citizens without distinction of race or creed. This was expressed in Article 44 of the historic Berlin Treaty, which read as follows:

Article 44. In Roumania, difference in religious beliefs and confessions shall not be brought against anyone as a ground for exclusion or unfitness as regards the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public offices, functions, and honors, or the exercise of various professions and industries in any place whatever. Freedom in outward observance of all creeds will be assured to all subjects of the Roumanian state, as well as to strangers, and no obstacle will be raised either to the ecclesiastical organization of different bodies, or to their intercourse with their spiritual heads.

The citizens of all states, whether merchants or others, shall be dealt with, in Roumania, without distinction of religion, on the basis of perfect equality.

In the *constituante* which was convoked soon after to discuss the question of giving the Jews equal political rights, an interesting picture is obtained of the sentiment of the upper and middle classes of Roumania.¹ An overwhelming majority was opposed to the granting of political rights to the Jews on the ground that Roumania was a Christian-Latin State, or on the purely nationalistic ground that the Jews were an alien and utterly unassimilable element of the population. To meet the demands of the Powers the principle of individual naturalization was adopted, by which an alien could be granted naturalization individually and only by a special vote of the Chamber of Deputies. Other

¹ The discussions are presented in *La question juive*.

onerous conditions, such as the requirement of a ten years' residence in the country for citizenship, and the prohibition of the purchase by aliens of rural estates, showed conclusively that Roumania was prepared to give only formal assent to the demand of the Powers.¹ After a year of negotiations, the three Powers agreed to the recognition of her independence, expressing the hope that the Roumanian government would recognize the inadequacy of the revised article and especially of the principle of individual naturalization as meeting the conditions of the Berlin Treaty, and would aim towards a complete emancipation of all her subjects.²

The situation at the beginning of the eighties presented but little hope of improvement in the political condition of the Jews. Eight hundred and eighty-three Jews who had fought in the war for independence had been naturalized *en masse*. With the exception of this small number, the Jews were legally classed as foreigners.³ Shortly after, owing to the fact that Austria-Hungary had withdrawn its protection from several thousands of its Jewish citizens resident in Roumania, the entire body of Jews received a new legal status, that of "foreigners not subject to any foreign Power". In other words, they were stateless, though subject to all the obligations of Roumanian citizens, including military service and the payment of taxes. This legal status of the Jews has received the attention of the world and marks a condition of things which according to Bluntschli is "a denial of the entire development of European states".⁴

¹ Article VII is given in Appendix B, p. 200.

² Cf. *English Parliamentary Papers*, 1880, vol. lxxix, Correspondence relative to the recognition of Roumania.

³ In the following twenty years only 85 Jews were granted citizenship.

⁴ Bluntschli's pamphlet is a valuable statement of the situation. For title cf. Bibliography.

Freed from the control of the Powers, Roumania now entered on a new campaign of discrimination against the Jews. The first decade of the eighties saw this begun in a series of laws which for completeness finds no parallel even in Russia. At the very beginning, a law giving the police the right of domiciliary visitation and of expelling under the vagabond law anyone in the rural districts, was employed against the Jews, resulting in their frequent expulsions into the towns. The enforcement of the law against rural residence was so strict as to create practically the same situation as exists in the Russian Pale. The law of 1883, prohibiting lotteries, and in the following year the law prohibiting hawking or any form of sale from house to house or on the streets deprived several thousands of Jewish families of their livelihood. ✓

It was in 1886 and 1887, however, when the laws which were to create a national industry and commerce were introduced, that a serious step was taken to exclude the Jews from economic activity. (On the assumption that occupations were a civil right to which aliens could or could not be admitted, the Jews were systematically deprived even of the civil rights which had been theirs, to a great extent, before the Berlin Congress sought to make them politically free. As foreigners, the Jews were prohibited the right of choosing electors for the newly-created Chambers of Commerce and Trade, or of becoming members of these chambers although they formed a large majority of the merchants and manufacturers represented in these important bodies. A still more serious provision was that which decreed that five years after the foundation of a factory two-thirds of the workingmen employed therein must be Roumanians. (Jews were also partly excluded from the administrative positions in joint-stock companies.) They were completely excluded from employment in the financial in-

stitutions of the state, from the state railway service, and, by a provision that two-thirds of the employes on private railways must be Roumanians, were practically excluded from these as well. The sharpest blow, however, was struck in 1902, when a new law for the organization of trades, popularly known as the Artisans' Bill, was passed. In this law there is to be seen a revival of the guild organizations of the Middle Ages. To pursue his occupation every artisan was required to obtain a certificate from a guild. Jewish master artisans and workmen were hit by the requirement that aliens in order to have the right of working in accordance with this law must prove that in their own country reciprocal rights existed for Roumanians, or obtain an authorization from a Chamber of Commerce or Industry. Whatever value this requirement may have had for the protection of Roumanian workmen in foreign countries, its chief effect was to place in a position of economic helplessness the majority of the Jewish workmen as "aliens not subject to any foreign Power", and largely unable to secure authorization from such chambers controlled by competitors. Other clauses, requiring that all workingmen belong to a guild, and that fifty workmen possessing civil and political rights are empowered to form a guild, put the control of trades into the hands of non-Jews, although the majority of the artisans in many of the trades were Jews.

A similar policy was pursued with reference to the cultural activities of the Jews. A circular of the minister of public instruction, issued in 1887, ordered that preference should be given to Roumanian children, in cases where there was not enough room in the elementary schools for all. [This began the gradual exclusion of Jewish children from the Roumanian elementary schools. The formal treatment of the Jews as aliens in the educational system was introduced in 1893, when all aliens were required to pay

fees for entrance into the public schools, and were admitted only in case there was enough room for them.] The effect of these laws was seen in the diminished proportion of Jewish children in the elementary schools. Similar provisions for the secondary and high schools and universities largely closed the doors of these institutions to the Jews. From schools of agriculture and forestry, and of commerce they were completely excluded.

To the educational restrictions were added restrictions to professional service. As aliens, they were forbidden to be employed in the public sanitary service and health department as physicians, pharmacists, *etc.*, from owning as well as working in private pharmacies, and from entering other professional fields.

The almost complete agreement of the two principal parties—liberal and conservative—explains the thoroughness and uninterrupted progress of this process of piling up disability upon disability. The explanation is partly to be found in the constitution of Roumania, the electoral law of which places the political powers in the hands of two classes—the landed aristocracy and the urban, or middle class. The vast majority of the peasants are excluded by educational and property qualifications, obtaining only indirect representation. Had the Jews been granted political rights, they would have shared political power with the other two classes. It is through the second electoral college, of both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, that the middle class is represented politically. As manufacturers and merchants, as urban dwellers, as members of the liberal professions and as graduates of the elementary schools, the Jews would have become the most important part of this electoral college.

Again, the creation of an industry and commerce along national lines was largely a course of action in the interests

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of this middle class of Roumanian merchants, artisans and laborers. It was in favor of this class that the laws were passed debarring Jews from various occupations and seeking essentially to wrest the industrial and commercial monopoly from their hands.

In this course of action, powerful aid was extended by the bureaucracy, recruited mainly from the lower nobility and the middle classes. Depending for their support upon the urbans, and seeking to prevent the entrance of Jews into state service, which would have resulted from the granting of political rights to the Jews, the bureaucracy have acted in harmony with the middle classes in the attempt to make the Jews politically, economically, and culturally powerless.

Thus the situation that the Jews in Roumania have been facing for thirty years is abnormal, from every standpoint. At no time within thirty years has there been any serious question of giving to the Jews the political rights, the granting of which had been made the condition of the recognition of Roumania's independence by the Powers. The history of the succeeding thirty years has been one of gradual, steady and systematic deprivation of one civil right after another. To the prohibition of freedom of movement has been added that of work; one occupation after another has been prohibited to Jews under the mask of foreigners. From all the branches of state service Jews have been almost completely debarred. Participation in important private and public enterprises has similarly been limited. The schools have been largely closed to them. The effect has been partly registered in a rate of illiteracy higher in the cities among the Jewish children between seven and fifteen than among the non-Jewish children of the same age.

Thus the conscious policy of Roumania has been that of oppression, political, economic and social, with the delib-

erate aim of making it impossible for the Jews to live in Roumania. <This method of indirect expulsion is the essence of her policy of thirty years.> As such it was recognized and openly stated in the only formal protest against her manner of fulfilling the conditions of the Berlin Treaty, made by the United States, through its Secretary of State, John Hay, whose circular to the Powers signatory to the Treaty demanded that Roumania be called to account for her treatment of the Jews, and her dishonesty in violating the pledges given by her to the Powers.¹

III. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the legal position of the Jews in Austria-Hungary differed from that of their brethren in Russia and Roumania only in degree. Prohibited the free exercise of their religion, the right to hold real property, and to enter certain occupations, and burdened by special Jewish taxes, the Jews remained a class apart and governed in all their activities by special laws. Their legal emancipation, begun in 1848, was definitely established by the promulgation in each division of the Empire of the Fundamental Law of 1867, declaring that religion should not be a ground for discrimination in civil and political rights.

The civil and political equality of the Jews was a cardinal principle of the creed of German-Austrian liberalism and one of a number of its victories embodied in the Constitution of 1867. <Austrian economic and social life at this period was, however, too saturated with medievalism to allow for a complete revolution in the attitude toward the Jews.> On the other hand, the influential part played by the Jews in the liberal movement and the fact that a group of wealthy

¹ The Hay note is given in Appendix C, pp. 201-206.

Jews were powerful factors in the *haute finance* and in the commercial life of the country were made the basis of an attack by the feudal-clericals upon the Jews.

The great financial crash of 1873, in which several Jewish financial houses were concerned, was the starting-point of political antisemitism in Austria. The Jews were denounced as the representatives of the capitalist order of society, with its overwhelming concentration of wealth and its exploitation of the industrial and the agricultural proletariat. The Christian-Socialist movement began with antisemitism as the corner-stone of its economic and social doctrines. Its opposition to the Jews and to capitalism was largely due to medieval prejudices in favor of the Christian-feudal state and the medieval industrial organization. In the early eighties it began to triumph when the "small man" or petty industrialist received political power through an extension of the suffrage.

It reached its height in the nineties, when, under the combined influence of feudal-clerical nobles, the clergy and the lower middle class, a period of reaction set in. In Vienna, in 1895, the antisemite Lueger was elected mayor. Powerless though they were to change the legal status of the Jews, the antisemites succeeded in creating in both upper and lower circles of Austrian society an atmosphere of antagonism to the Jews which has prevented the complete fulfillment of the principle of equality as set forth in the constitution.

The clericals have fanned the flames of religious hatred especially among the peasantry by ritual-murder accusations, which have been rife and have played a large part in strengthening the sentiment of hostility toward the Jews.

In Galicia, the position of the Jews became unsettled, owing to a variety of causes.¹ Although one of the

¹ *Jüdische Statistik*, p. 208 et seq.

least advanced among the Austrian crown lands, Galicia has experienced within the last half-century an industrial and commercial development along with the rest of the Empire. This resulted in the growth of a middle class particularly among the Poles, which began to compete for supremacy with the Jews. The improvements in transportation and communication, the organization of agricultural syndicates, for the purpose of directly purchasing and selling the produce of the peasants, and the creation of rural credit societies, helped considerably to displace the Jewish middlemen and traders as well as the Jewish money-lenders, who dealt largely with the peasantry. The movement to develop Galicia industrially was fostered on national lines by these Polish organizations, which carried on an extensive propaganda and systematically organized economic boycotts against the Jews. "Do not buy of Jews", "Do not patronize Jewish artisans", became familiar cries in Galicia as in other parts of Austria.

The process of wresting the monopoly of industry, trade and commerce from the Jews in favor of the Polish petty merchants and artisans was considerably accelerated by the official bodies, the autonomous Galician *Diet* and the municipal boards, controlled chiefly by the Polish-Catholic nobility, who saw in the national-industry movement a means of capturing the votes of the middle class and of thus retaining their position as leaders of the Polish people. Communal funds were used to establish Poles in business. Attempts were made to take away from the Jews the small-salt and tobacco trades. The taxes on the taverns were increased. In the public financial institutions organized for various purposes Jews were not given representation. In nearly all the activities designed to promote the interest of the urban population and the peasantry, the Jews were systematically excluded by the local authorities.

*Polish
competition
with Jews*

Added to this, the increasing distress of the Galician peasants has reacted strongly upon the Jews, who depend so largely upon their buying power. The poverty of the peasantry, the competition for the control of the rural market created by public and private agencies, added to the increasing competition in the towns from other sections of the population, have all co-operated to create a great surplus, in proportion to the population, of petty merchants and artisans among the Jews. This had its effect in an over-competition from the side of the Jews themselves.

The Jews have suffered as well from their historical rôle of intermediaries between a most avaricious nobility and a bitterly exploited peasantry. Acting as stewards and as tavern keepers for the Polish nobles, who are mainly absentee landlords, and who, until very recently, enjoyed the right of keeping taverns as one of their feudal privileges, the Jews have become the buffers of the deep-seated antagonism between the two chief classes of Galicia.

Agrarian uprisings have been frequent of late, particularly after the failure of the crops, which here as in Russia and Roumania spells a crisis. These, chiefly directed against the nobles, have frequently been diverted toward the Jews, to whom the peasants are largely indebted, and in whom they see the visible instruments of the oppression of their lords.

Economic antagonism has been intensified by the religious hatred which has been fostered by the Polish clergy and which has been the basis of numerous ritual-murder charges.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

AN intimate connection has thus been established between the present state of economic and social transition through which the countries of Eastern Europe are passing and the situation which has confronted the Jews in each of these countries and has profoundly influenced their position and their history for the last third of a century. What the forces are behind the emigration of the Jews from these countries to Western Europe and the United States during this period now become clear.

The industrial and commercial development of the recent decades brought about changes in themselves unfavorable to the economic activities of the Jews. The improvements in communication and transportation through the extension of railroads, the building of roads, and the creation of credit facilities especially for the peasantry served partly to displace the Jews, whose economic position had been largely based upon the services they rendered in a relatively backward industrial and commercial civilization. The rise of a middle class among the Christian populations, chiefly engaged in industry, added an element of competition not before present. Not the least important in its effects was the increasing poverty of the peasantry, which seriously affected the Jews, as the principal buyers of their produce and sellers of finished products. Agricultural crises, so frequent in recent years in Eastern Europe, have often involved the Jews in financial ruin.¹

¹ Cf. *Hersch*, chap. v. He gives to this factor far more importance than it deserves. For criticism of his method, cf. p. 92, note 1.

These purely economic factors served to weaken the position of the Jews and to cause an over-concentration in trade and industry, to their detriment. The gradual readjustment that would have followed naturally was, however, prevented by the existence of other forces, in the action of which we find the key to the situation faced by the Jews and the impelling forces of Jewish emigration.

One of these was the economic antisemitism that rose partly from the competition of the middle classes of both populations. This competitive jealousy awakened racial and religious prejudices and found particularly in Galicia an active expression in the organization of economic boycotts, and in the co-operative agencies that were created to foster the growth of the Christian artisans and merchants. The sufferings of the agricultural population, again, were charged to the Jews, with whom the peasants were in close business relations and to whom they were deeply indebted. Preached from platform, press and pulpit, the doctrine of Jewish exploitation of the peasantry found a ready acceptance among all classes.

Economic and social hostility was furthered by the feudal ruling classes whose antagonism to the Jews was deep-seated and many-sided. As these formed the ruling economic, social and political power in Eastern Europe, they were the chief instrument in creating a situation that was full of danger for the Jews. In the politico-economic struggles between these privileged classes and the liberal middle classes that accompanied the transition, the Jews were found, consciously or unconsciously, on the side of the liberals, who sought to introduce the economic, social and political conditions of modern civilization. Thus they served as a convenient object of attack. In Russia, where, since the reaction, the control of the feudal classes over the government was complete, the new laws restricting resi-

dence, movement, occupations and economic activity in general, checked the economic growth of the Jews and put them at a great disadvantage in the struggle for existence. This situation was created to an even greater degree in Roumania, where the economic interests of the Roumanian middle class were furthered at the expense of the Jews. Economic helplessness was essentially the condition created for the Jews, so narrow was the margin left for the exercise of their powers. The social pressure that was added, through laws limiting the entrance of Jews to the educational institutions and the liberal professions, seeking to limit their cultural influence, was part and parcel of the same policy. In the case of Russia, repression reached the form of massacres of Jews, when these were found politically useful.

Governmental oppression was thus the chief force in unsettling the economic and social position of the Jews. Throughout the course of thirty years the leading motive of the Russian and Roumanian governments was the reduction, through every possible means, of the number of their Jewish populations.

This governmental pressure which began to be applied at the beginning of the eighties became equivalent in the course of time to an expulsive force. The only outlet to the intolerable conditions that had been created by the forces of governmental repression and oppression was emigration. This was sensed by the Jews at the very beginning of the period. How eagerly it has been seized upon the following pages will show. It is enough for the moment to point out that the vast and steadily increasing stream of Russian Jewish immigrants to the United States alone, has risen to such proportions that its average for the past decade has approached the estimated annual increase of the Jews in Russia. In other words, emigration has begun to mean the de-

cline, not only relatively, but even absolutely, of the Jewish population in Russia.

The fact that the persecution of the Jews in the case of Russia and Roumania amounts to a force of rejection has been widely recognized during the course of the emigration of the Jews from Eastern Europe. In England, where the number of Jewish immigrants increased rapidly, it found expression in the official reports, and in the United States, it became a subject of direct diplomatic correspondence in the formal protest to Russia in 1891 by President Harrison, and in 1902 in the circular note to the Powers by Secretary Hay, regarding Roumania's treatment of the Jews.

A still more significant recognition of the exceptional forces behind the Jewish immigration was given by the Jews of Western Europe and the United States, living in a state of freedom, security and comparative wealth, to whom the oncoming of thousands of Jewish refugees at all the critical periods, and the steady stream of Jewish immigrants at other times has meant a taking-up of onerous burdens and a sharing of the hardships of the situation thus suddenly thrust upon them. The attempt to organize and regulate Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe was a task early undertaken by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The Jewish Colonization Association was expressly founded by Baron de Hirsch to open up, in various countries, new paths for the Jewish emigrants. At all periods of exceptional emigration, national and international committees met to consider the problems of the immigrants thrown upon their responsibility.

The vast majority of the emigrants made the United States their goal. In their movement and their economic and social characteristics we shall find a striking reflection of the impelling forces of their emigration.

PART II

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE
UNITED STATES

A. ITS MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I

DETERMINATION OF NUMBER OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS

IN a study of Jewish immigration to the United States the first problem is to determine the number of Jews who entered this country during the thirty years from 1881 to 1910, and their nationality, or their countries of nativity. The determination of these figures meets with the difficulty that prior to 1899, immigrants were classified in the official statistics by country of nativity or residence, and not by race or nationality. Thus the figures regarding Jewish immigration* are obtainable from official sources only from 1899. Those relating to previous years have to be sought for elsewhere.

The main sources that have been used to obtain the figures before 1899 are the reports of three Jewish societies which were concerned with the care of the Jewish immigrants arriving at the principal ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. These were the United Hebrew Charities, of New York; the Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants, of Philadelphia, and the Hebrew Benevolent Society, of Baltimore. Each of these maintained an agent who, besides his other duties, collected statistical information concerning the sex, age, country of nativity, occupation, destination, *etc.*, of the Jewish immigrants, partly from the ships' manifests and partly through personal inquiry. The statistical information thus obtained was regularly included in the annual reports of these societies. These records were begun by the New York and

Philadelphia societies, in 1884, and by the Baltimore society, in 1891.

As the yearly statistical tables of these reports were made to correspond with the annual meeting of these societies,¹ it was found advisable to rearrange them from July to June, in order to have them correspond with the fiscal year, and thus allow for a proper comparison with the official data furnished by the immigration authorities.

As rearranged, the tables presented the number of Jewish immigrants entering the ports of New York and Philadelphia from July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1898, and the number of Jewish immigrants entering the port of Baltimore from July 1, 1891, to June 30, 1898.² As these three ports were, up to recent years, the places of entry of all but a very small number of Jewish immigrants, the figures thus obtained represent practically the total Jewish immigration to the United States from 1886 to 1898.

To ascertain the nationality or country of nativity of the Jewish immigrants from 1886 to 1898, it was necessary to redistribute in accordance with the fiscal year the monthly arrivals found in the tables of the United Hebrew Charities, which contain the figures for each nationality.³ As the reports of the Philadelphia society gave only the totals of arrivals of each nationality for each year but not distributed by months, the following method was employed. The percentage the immigration of each nativity constituted of the total immigration from November to October (the society's year) was used as the basis for calculating the annual im-

¹ The year of the United Hebrew Charities is from October to September, that of the Philadelphia society is from November to October, that of the Baltimore society is from July to June.

² *Cf.* table II, p. 159. The figures for Baltimore were furnished by the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

³ For an example of this distribution *cf.* table III, p. 159.

migration of each nativity from July to June.¹ There being no essential difference between Baltimore and Philadelphia, so far as Jewish immigrants of each nationality are concerned, the same percentages were used as for Philadelphia.²

The discrepancy between the official figures of the total immigration from Roumania from 1886 to 1898 and those of the Jewish societies for the Jewish immigrants from Roumania for the same period is worthy of note. In each of four years the number of Jewish immigrants from Roumania as reported by the Jewish societies exceeded the total immigration from Roumania as reported in the official statistics. For two years, 1892 and 1893, the official statistics do not report any immigrants from Roumania, whereas the Jewish societies report,³ respectively, 740 and 555 Jewish immigrants from Roumania, which represented a normal number from this country, as the other years indicate.⁴

¹ Cf. table IV A, p. 160. Thus, from November 1885 to October 1886 there entered the port of Philadelphia 2165 Jews, of whom 1624 or 75 per cent were from Russia, 260 or 12 per cent were from Austria-Hungary, 43 or 2 per cent were from Roumania, and 238 or 11 per cent were from all other countries. From July 1, 1885 to June 30, 1886, there entered the port of Philadelphia 1625 Jews. To ascertain the numbers of each nationality for this fiscal year, we may use the percentages given above for each nationality. Calculating these, we find that in the fiscal year 1886 of the 1625 Jews entering the port of Philadelphia, 1218 were from Russia, 196 were from Austria-Hungary, 33 were from Roumania, and 178 were from all other countries. In like manner, the numbers of each nationality for the other years were obtained.

² Cf. table IV B, p. 160.

³ As corrected by the methods described.

⁴ For the four years mentioned, the figures are as follows, those reported by the Jewish societies preceding those from official sources: in 1886, 518, 494; in 1887, 2063, 2045; in 1888, 1653, 1188; in 1889, 1058, 893. For the official figures cf. Immigration Commission: *Statistical Review of Immigration*, pp. 40-44.

The total number of immigrants of each nationality arriving from July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1898, was thus obtained. The total number of Jewish immigrants arriving from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania, at each of the principal ports, for each year from 1886 to 1898, are summarized in table V.¹

The figures of Jewish immigration before 1886 were not obtainable either from the official or the Jewish sources, there being only an estimate of the number of the Jewish immigrants from 1881 to 1884 in the *American Jewish Year Book* of 1899-1900 (as 74,310), and in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (as 62,022), without any indications as to how these were obtained. To secure a fairly accurate statement, the proportion the Russian Jewish immigration from 1886 to 1898 bore to the total Russian immigration was used as the basis for calculating the total number of Russian Jewish immigrants from 1881 to 1885.² This was distributed yearly according to the proportion of each year's contribution to the five years' total. By a similar calculation the number of Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary was obtained.³ For Roumania, the proportion of Jews being

¹ Cf. table V, p. 161.

² Out of a total of 505,078 Russian immigrants from 1886 to 1898, the Russian Jewish immigrants constituted 315,355, or 62 per cent.

³ In calculating the number of Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary the percentage the Jewish immigration was of the total immigration from Austria-Hungary from 1886 to 1910 and not, as in the case with the Jewish immigration from Russia, from 1886 to 1898, was used through an oversight as the basis for calculation. As the immigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary for 1885 at the port of New York alone constituted 14 per cent of the total immigration from Austria-Hungary, this figure was put down *in toto*, being a higher number than the one obtained by calculation. As the Jewish immigration from 1886 to 1910 constituted 9 per cent of the total immigration from Austria-Hungary and the immigration from 1886 to 1898 constituted 14 per cent of the total immigration, the difference is not

more than ninety per cent, and at this period practically the entire Roumanian immigration being Jewish, the figures were taken *in toto*. The results for each year added together constituted the total Jewish immigration for the year.

The general tendency among writers on the subject of Jewish immigration has been to exaggerate the magnitude of this movement. In a discussion in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* regarding the dimensions of the Jewish immigration before 1899, exact figures were given that are on their face erroneous.¹ The inaccuracy of these figures is explained by the fact that the writer committed a gross error in making his table. The total Russian immigration to the United States from 1880 to 1898 was designated as the Jewish immigration from Russia, though it should have been evident that the number of other peoples coming from Russia and included in these figures must have been very large. Another column gave as Jewish immigrants coming from countries other than Russia, the totals of the Jewish immigrants entering the United States from 1885 to 1898, as reported in the *American Jewish Year Book* of 1899 (the

large. Following is the table indicating the difference for each year from 1881 to 1884.

Year.	Total immigration.	Jewish immigration.		Difference.
		at 14 per cent	at 9 per cent	
1881	27935	3882	2537	1345
1882	29150	4051	2648	1403
1883	27625	3840	2510	1330
1884	36571	5083	3340	1743

The increased numbers from the higher percentage involve no change in the relative position of Jewish immigration from the three principal countries of emigration, except in 1881, when the Jewish immigration from Austria-Hungary would have exceeded that from Russia.

¹ *Jewish Encyclopedia*: "Migration," vol. viii, p. 584.

Ibid., "Russia"—Emigration, vol. x, p. 547.

latter figures of which included Russian Jews as well as those of other nativities), thereby doubling the number of Russian Jewish immigrants for this period. The result has been to more than triple the numbers of the Jewish immigrants. These figures have been widely used and quoted, and have generally created the impression of a Jewish immigration larger by several hundred thousands than is really the case.¹

The results of the foregoing are summarized in Table VI, which gives the number of Jewish immigrants arriving in each of the thirty years from 1881 to 1910, and the principal countries of nativity of these immigrants. We are thus in a position closely to study the movement of Jewish immigration for practically the entire period since it became a significant part of the recent immigration to the United States, and thereby to throw light upon the character of this movement, in itself and as a part of the general immigration.

¹ Ruppin uses these figures in *Die Sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 11.

Hersch, (*Le juif errant d'aujourd'hui*), subjects the figures given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* to a thorough analysis and shows their absurdity. Unaware, however, of the nature of the error committed by the writer and of the existence of authoritative sources for the figures of Jewish immigration, he drew the conclusion that it is impossible to obtain any really accurate figures of Jewish immigration before 1899. This leads him into serious errors owing to the fact that he discusses the movement of Jewish immigration from the basis of the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, representing the height of the movement, instead of for the entire period of thirty years. This vitiates his principal conclusions regarding the character of the Jewish movement to this country. Particularly noticeable is his neglect of the phenomena presented by the Russian and Roumanian movements and his elevation of the movement from Austria-Hungary as the type of Jewish immigration to this country.

TABLE VI

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1881 TO 1910

Year	Russia	Austria-Hungary	Roumania	United Kingdom	Germany	Brit. N. A.	Turkey	France	All Others	Total
1881	3125	2537	30							5692
1882	10489	2648	65							13202
1883	6144	2510	77							8731
1884	7867	3340	238							11445
1885	10648	3938	803		1473					16862
1886	14092	5326	518		983				254	21173
1887	23103	6898	2063		780				200	33044
1888	20216	5985	1653		727				300	28881
1889	18338	4998	1058		758				200	25352
1890	20981	6439	462		633				124	28639
1891	43457	5890	854		636				561	51398
1892	64253	8643	740		1787				950	76373
1893	25161	6363	555		1814				1429	35322
1894	20747	5916	616		1109				791	29179
1895	16727	6047	518		1028				1871	26191
1896	20168	9831	744		829				1276	32848
1897	13063	5672	516		586				535	20372
1898	14949	7367	720		296				322	23654
1899	24275	11071	1343	174	405	5	81	9	52	37415
1900	37011	16920	6183	133	337		114	17	49	60764
1901	37660	13006	6827	110	272		154	20	49	58098
1902	37846	12848	6589	55	182		138	9	21	57688
1903	47689	18759	8562	420	477		211	11	74	76203
1904	77544	20211	6446	817	669	8	313	32	196	106236
1905	92388	17352	3854	14299	734	11	173	327	772	129910
1906	125234	14884	3872	6113	979	429	461	479	1297	153748
1907	114937	18885	3605	7032	734	1818	918	306	952	149182
1908	71978	15293	4455	6260	869	2393	635	425	1079	103387 ¹
1909	39150	8431	1390	3385	652	2780	690	325	748	57551 ¹
1910	59824	13142	1701	4098	705	2262	1388	339	801	84260 ¹
Total	1119059	281150	67057	42896	20454	9706	5276	2299	14903	1562800

¹ From 1908 immigrants were classified in the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration as "immigrant aliens," those intending to reside permanently in the United States and "non-immigrant aliens," those making a temporary trip to the United States. In the figures of 1908, 1909 and 1910, only the "immigrant aliens" are considered.

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED BY EACH COUNTRY OF NATIVITY, 1881 TO 1910

Year	Russia	Austria-Hungary	Roumania	United Kingdom	Germany	Brit. N. A.	Turkey	France	All Others	Total
1881	54.8	44.7	0.5							100.0
1882	79.5	20.1	0.4							100.0
1883	70.4	28.7	0.9							100.0
1884	68.7	29.2	2.1							100.0
1885	63.1	23.4	4.8		8.7					100.0
1886	66.6	25.2	2.4		4.6				1.2	100.0
1887	69.9	20.8	6.3		2.4				.6	100.0
1888	70.0	20.7	5.7		2.5				1.1	100.0
1889	72.3	19.7	4.2		3.0				.8	100.0
1890	73.3	22.5	1.6		2.2				.4	100.0
1891	84.6	11.5	1.6		1.2				1.1	100.0
1892	84.1	11.3	1.1		2.2				1.3	100.0
1893	71.2	18.0	1.6		5.1				4.1	100.0
1894	71.1	20.3	2.1		3.8				2.7	100.0
1895	63.9	23.1	2.0		3.9				7.1	100.0
1896	61.4	29.9	2.3		2.5				3.9	100.0
1897	64.1	27.9	2.5		2.9				2.6	100.0
1898	63.2	31.1	3.0		1.3				1.4	100.0
1899	64.9	29.5	3.6	.5	1.1				.4	100.0
1900	60.9	27.8	10.2	.2	.6				.3	100.0
1901	64.8	22.4	11.8	.2	.5		.2		.1	100.0
1902	65.6	22.3	11.4	.1	.3		.2		.1	100.0
1903	62.6	24.6	11.2	.6	.6		.3		.1	100.0
1904	73.0	19.0	6.1	.8	.6		.3		.2	100.0
1905	71.1	13.4	3.0	11.0	.6		.1	.2	.6	100.0
1906	81.5	9.7	2.5	4.0	.6	.3	.3	.3	.8	100.0
1907	77.1	12.7	2.4	4.7	.5	1.2	.6	.2	.6	100.0
1908	69.6	14.8	4.3	6.1	.8	2.3	.6	.4	1.1	100.0
1909	68.0	14.7	2.4	5.9	1.2	4.7	1.2	.6	1.3	100.0
1910	71.1	15.6	2.0	4.9	.8	2.7	1.6	.4	.9	100.0
Total	71.6	17.9	4.3	2.8	1.3	0.6	0.3	0.2	1.0	100.0

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM EASTERN EUROPE

IN the thirty years between 1881 and 1910, 1,562,800 Jews entered the United States. An examination of Tables VI and VII reveals the fact that the great majority of the immigrants came from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania. Of the total number, Russia contributed 1,119,059 immigrants, or 71.6 per cent; Austria-Hungary 281,150 immigrants, or 17.9 per cent, and Roumania 67,057 immigrants, or 4.3 per cent. Together these three countries contributed 93.8 per cent of the total for the thirty years. The great majority of the Jewish immigrants from the United Kingdom and British North America are not English or Canadian Jews but transmigrants or transient East-European Jews, to whom England and Canada were a half-way house from the countries of Eastern Europe to the United States.¹ If we included these immigrants, the Jewish immigration from these three countries of Eastern Europe would be considerably above 95 per cent. The Jewish immigration of the last third of a century is thus practically wholly from Eastern Europe.

Summarizing the results for the three decades,² we find that the Jewish immigrants from Russia maintained a fairly constant proportion to the total Jewish immigration, contributing 135,003, in the decade between 1881 and 1890 or 69.9 per cent of the total for the decade, 279,811 or 71.1

¹ Landa, *The Alien Problem and its Remedy*, pp. 54-57.

² Cf. table VIII, p. 162.

per cent in the decade between 1891 and 1900, and 704,245, or 72.1 per cent, in the decade between 1901 and 1910.

Roumanian Jewish immigration was relatively smaller in the earlier decades, numbering 6,967 in the first, 12,789 in the second decade, comprising 3.2 per cent and 3.6 per cent, respectively, of the total, and in the last decade, numbering 47,301 and constituting 4.8 per cent of the total immigration of the decade.

The Jewish immigration from Austria-Hungary bore a proportion to the total higher in the first two decades, contributing 44,619 immigrants in the first decade and 83,720 immigrants in the second decade, or 23.1 per cent and 21.3 per cent, respectively, of the total, and 152,810 immigrants, or 15.7 per cent, in the last decade.

The Jewish immigrants from the United Kingdom and British North America, which, in the first two decades constituting less than one per cent of the total of each decade, were included in the rubric "all others", rose in the last decade to 42,589, constituting 4.4 per cent, and to 9,701, constituting one per cent, of the total of this decade.

An examination of the yearly contributions made by the Jews of the principal countries¹ shows that the immigrants from Russia formed the majority of the immigrants for each year of the entire period, and as a rule, did not deviate far from the general proportion established for the thirty years. The greatest increases occurred during the years of maximum Jewish immigration, in 1882, 1891, 1892 and 1906, when the Russian Jewish immigrants constituted four-fifths or more of the total for the year.

The immigrants from Roumania showed higher percentages than their average in 1887 and in 1888, and a remarkable increase of their contribution from 1900 to 1903,

¹ Cf. tables VI and VII, pp. 93-94.

in which years they constituted more than a tenth of the total number of immigrants.

The immigrants from Austria-Hungary formed, on the average, less than one-fifth of the total, but varied considerably in their proportions. In general, they maintained a rate higher than their average during the earlier years of their movement. In the later years they showed a relative decline, especially during the last decade, owing to the greater relative increase of the Jewish immigration from Russia and Roumania, though their absolute numbers increased greatly during this period. Their highest ratios of contribution were made from 1883 to 1886 and from 1896 to 1900, the latter period marking their maximum relative contributions.

The influence of the Russian Jewish immigration is thus paramount. It dominates and controls the entire movement, owing to its great preponderance of numbers. To a closer consideration of its movement we shall now turn.

CHAPTER III

IMMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM RUSSIA

THE mass-movement of the Russian Jews to the United States began in the first year of Alexander III's reign. Though in this year the number of Russian Jews entering this country amounted to a little over three thousand, the immigration grew so rapidly and in such proportions that at the end of thirty years, more than a million Russian Jews had been admitted to the United States.

An examination of the figures of the Russian Jewish immigration for the thirty years¹ reveals that it is a movement of steady growth. The Russian Jewish immigration falls practically into two periods; the first culminating in 1892, the second culminating in 1906. Considering it by decades,² we find that the movement is one of geometrical progression. In the first decade, from 1881 to 1890, 135,003 Russian Jews entered the country, 12.1 per cent of the total Russian Jewish immigrants. Between 1891 and 1900, 279,811 Russian Jews entered, constituting 25.0 per cent of the total. In the last decade, from 1901 to 1910, there entered 704,245 Russian Jews, or 62.9 per cent of the total.

The annual variations are, nevertheless, considerable and largely explainable by the special conditions in Russia that have influenced the lives of the Jews throughout this period. At the beginning of this period, in 1881, the immigration of Russian Jews was small. The *pogroms* of 1881-2 were

¹ Cf. table IX, p. 162.

² Cf. table X, p. 163.

reflected in the sudden rise in 1882 to 10,489 immigrants, more than three times the number of the preceding year. The immigration of this year was rather a flight than a normal movement. The great majority of the immigrants were refugees, fleeing from massacre and pillage.¹

In this year Russian Jewish immigration began its upward course. Another high point was reached in 1887 with 23,103 immigrants, when the educational restrictions and the expulsions that followed a strict application of the May Laws indicated a renewal of the policy of the Russian government.

The rumors of new restrictions that marked the beginning of the nineties, and the opening of the second decade of Alexander III's reign, were followed by the wholesale expulsions from Moscow. The immigration in 1891 of 43,457 and in 1892 of 64,253 Russian Jews—the latter the highest number reached in two decades—reflects this situation. Nearly a tenth of the total immigration entered in these two years.

The direct effect of the administrative activity of this year and especially of the Moscow expulsions upon the Russian Jewish immigration is seen in the number of Russian Jews who entered New York during the months closely following these expulsions.² For the first five months of 1891, the immigration averaged approximately 2,300, evidently a normal figure for this decade. It reached its lowest in May, when 1,225 Jews entered the country. In June, two months after the order of expulsion, the number of immigrants jumped to 8,667—a six-fold increase—which up to this year was the largest number of Russian Jews entering this country in one month.

¹ Sulzberger, *The Beginnings of Russo-Jewish Immigration to Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 125-150.

² Cf. table XI, p. 163.

This figure was surpassed in the immigration of August and September. Out of a total of 60,261 Russian Jews who entered in 1891, 11,449 came the first five months from January to May, and 40,706, or more than three times the previous immigration, came the next five months from June to October. The following five months there came only 16,832, less than half the number of immigrants of the months of June to October. And, finally, taking the year as a whole, there came over 60,261 Russian Jews in 1891, the year of the Moscow expulsions, as compared with the 28,834 Russian Jews who entered in 1892, when no exceptional circumstances occurred to affect their immigration tendency.

The six years from 1893 to 1898 were relatively mild years for the Russian Jews. The change of rulers in Russia and the comparatively lenient attitude shown by Nicholas II toward the Jews in the beginning of his reign resulted in a less stringent administration of the special Jewish laws. The financial depression in the United States which began in 1893 and embraced this period, was an additional influence in diminishing the flow of Russian Jewish immigrants. The fall, however, was not as large as the existence of unfavorable economic conditions in this country might lead one to expect. For in spite of it, Russian Jewish immigration resumed the rate it maintained in the years before 1891. From 1893 to 1898 there entered this country 110,815 Russian Jews as against the 107,378 Russian Jews who entered in the six years from 1885 to 1890.

Another rise began in 1899. Economic depression, revolutionary terrorism and anti-Jewish propaganda paved the way for a great inpouring of Russian Jews to the United States. The Kishineff massacre of 1903 sent thousands of Jews in veritable flight to the United States, a fact which is reflected in an immigration of 77,544 Russian Jews in 1904,

the greatest number up to this year. With the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, the outbreak of the revolution and, above all, of the Jewish massacres the immigration rose in 1905 to 92,388. In 1906, a year of *pogroms*, it reached the number of 125,234, the highest in the entire period—and in 1907, 114,932, the second largest immigration. The diminution in the numbers in 1908 reflects largely the relative change for the better that took place in the situation in Russia, with the beginning of parliamentary government, as well as the panic conditions in the United States of the preceding year. How great still was the impulse to leave is shown by the fact that in spite of the panic of 1907, the number of immigrants for 1908 was 71,978. The great rise of the immigration from the United Kingdom during these years was also due to the number of Russian Jews that came to the United States by way of England. In all, during these five years which form an epoch in contemporary Russian Jewish history, there streamed into the United States half a million Russian Jews, constituting more than two-fifths of the total immigration for the entire thirty years.

Of special significance is the part the Jewish immigrants play in the total Russian immigration to the United States.¹ By far the largest group of immigrants coming from Russia are Jews. For the entire thirty years they constituted 48.3 per cent of the total Russian immigration.

As a general rule, the proportion of the Jewish in the total Russian immigration rises during the critical periods of these thirty years. Thus in 1891, the year of the Moscow expulsions, the Jewish immigrants constituted 91.6 per cent of the total immigration from Russia, and in the following year, under the same influences, 78.8 per cent. The

¹ Cf. table XII, p. 164.

years 1886 and 1887 are also signalized by the great proportion of the Jewish immigrants, who formed 79.2 per cent and 75.1 per cent, respectively, of the total Russian immigration for these years. In the last decade, when the Jewish participation in the total immigration had become relatively lessened, the three years which represented the climax of the movement, 1904, 1905 and 1906, show a higher relative proportion, 53.4 per cent, 50 per cent and 58.1 per cent, respectively, than the average for the decade or for the entire period.

Considering the proportions by decades,¹ we find that of the total of 213,282 Russian immigrants entering in the decade from 1881 to 1890, the Jewish immigrants contributed 135,003, or 63.3 per cent. Of a total of 505,280 Russian immigrants in the decade from 1891 to 1900, the Jewish immigrants numbered 279,811, or 55.4 per cent. In the last decade, from 1901 to 1910, of a total of 1,597,306 Russian immigrants, the Jewish immigrants were 704,245, or 44.1 per cent. The diminishing importance of the Jewish in the total Russian immigration, in spite of the fact that the former shows so great an increase, is due to the rapid growth of the immigration tendency among the other races in Russia, especially in the last decade.

Nevertheless, a closer examination of the relative participation by the various peoples of Russia in the immigration from that country from 1899 to 1910² shows that the Jews maintain their position of predominance, contributing a larger proportion to the total Russian immigration than any other people throughout this period, except in 1910, when the Poles contributed a slightly higher proportion to the immigration of that year. The Polish contribution is next

¹ Cf. table XIII, p. 164.

² Cf. table XIV, p. 165.

to that of the Jews, attaining its maximum at a point where the Jewish immigration is at its lowest, relatively, in the twelve years.

The preceding sufficiently indicates the abnormal extent of the Russian Jewish immigration but its intensity may be judged further from the fact that though the Jews in Russia were less than one-twentieth of the total Russian population, they formed nearly half of the Russian immigrants to the United States. In other words, they were represented in the Russian immigration by more than eleven times their proportion in the Russian population. As, however, the emigration movement of the Russians proper is directed chiefly to Siberia, we may limit the comparison to the Pale, where the Jews are overwhelmingly concentrated, and where they constitute more than a tenth of the total population. Even with this limitation they were represented in the immigration to the United States by more than four times their proportion of the population.

Another method of judging the degree of intensity of the Russian Jewish movement is to compare the proportion the number of Jewish immigrants for a period bears to the total Jewish population in Russia—their rate of immigration—with that of the other Russian peoples represented in the immigration to the United States. The rate of immigration of the Jews is by far the highest among the peoples of Russia. From 1899 to 1910 the Jewish immigrants to the United States constituted on the average one out of every 79 of the Jewish population in Russia. The Finnish immigrants constituted one out of every 191 Finns, the Polish immigrants one out of every 200 Poles, and the Russian immigrants proper one out of every 11,552 of the Russian population. The relative position of the Jews

¹ Cf. table XV, p. 165.

is thus strikingly indicated. The rate of immigration truly becomes an index of the economic and social pressure to which the Jews have been subjected for a third of a century. This rate of immigration for the Jews, moreover, shows large fluctuations in the twelve years from 1899 to 1910.¹ Of every 10,000 Jews in Russia there came to this country on the average for the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, 125 Jews. From 1899 to 1903 the annual rate of immigration was much lower than the average. In 1904, with the beginning of the critical years, the annual rate rose to 152, and in 1905, to 181. It reached its climax in 1906, with 246, almost twice as large as the average for the entire period. It fell slightly below this in 1907 with 226. In 1908, there was a great fall to 141, though the rate was still above the average for the period.

The movement of the Russian Jews to this country in the last thirty years is seen to be steadily rising and to reach enormous dimensions in the last decade. The Jews are more largely represented in the movement from Russia than any other people, and predominate practically for the entire thirty years. The rate of immigration is abnormally high, as compared with that of any other of the immigrant races from Russia. For the most part the Russian Jewish immigration reflects the unusual situation confronting the Jews in Russia.

¹ Cf. table XVI, p. 166.

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM ROUMANIA

THE immigration of Roumanian Jews to the United States began as a small stream at the end of the sixties, and assumed significant dimensions in the eighties. Two important periods of rising immigration are clearly distinguishable. The first period attains its maximum between 1885 and 1889. The second attains its maximum and that of the entire movement between 1900 and 1904.

In the thirty years between 1881 and 1910, 67,057 immigrants entered the United States.¹ In the first decade, 6,967 immigrants, or 10.4 per cent of the total, arrived. In the second decade, 12,789 immigrants arrived, or 19.1 per cent of the total. The great majority, 47,301 immigrants, or 70.5 per cent of the total, arrived in the last decade, more than twice as many as had arrived in the two preceding decades. The Roumanian Jews thus began to take a significant part in the Jewish movement only within the last decade.

The annual variations are closely connected with the conditions in Roumania which have been previously discussed.² The rise in 1885 to 803 immigrants, the first number of any consequence, reflects the measures taken in Roumania to restrict the economic activity of the Jews, chiefly through the hawkers' law of 1884. The continuation of the administrative activities against the Jews, the expulsion of many

¹ Cf. table XVII, p. 166.
521]

² Cf. table XVIII, p. 167.
105

from the villages, and particularly the beginning in earnest of the attempt to drive them from industry and commerce, by the law of 1887, are responsible for the wholesale exodus in that and the following two years. In these three years more than 7 per cent of the total Roumanian Jewish immigration entered the country.

After 1889 and for nearly a decade the immigration of Jews from Roumania subsided, resuming the proportions established before 1887.

Another rise began in 1899. In 1900, the Roumanian Jewish immigration reached the relatively great number of 6,183, around which point it stood for the next two years. In 1903, it reached its maximum with an immigration of 8,562 Jews, one-eighth of the entire Roumanian Jewish immigration for the thirty years. In the following year the immigration still held to the high numbers reached before 1903. The years following 1904 show a fall to less than 4,000, which was interrupted in 1908, when the immigration rose to 4,455. In 1909, a sharp fall ensued to 1,390, and in 1910 to 1,701.

The great rise from 1900 to 1904, during which period there came more than half of the total number of Jewish immigrants from Roumania, was largely due to the resumption of the government program against the Jews. The chief form of restriction was the passing of the Artisans' Law in 1902, preceded by some years of agitation and administrative activity directed against the Jews, which aimed to make it impossible for the Jewish artisans to secure work. The feeling that the Jews had nothing to hope from the government, as much as the actual distress occasioned, was largely responsible for the unprecedented immigration.¹

¹ In the *Century* of Nov., 1913, Professor Ross, writing on "The Old World in the New," remarks (p. 28) that "the emigration of 50,000 Roumanian Jews between January and August, 1900, was

The Jewish forms so large a part of the Roumanian immigration as to be practically synonymous with it. As we have before noted, the figures obtained from the Jewish sources indicate a larger immigration from 1886 to 1898 on the part of the Jews alone than the official figures give for the entire immigration from Roumania for this period. Confining our attention to the figures of immigration from 1899 to 1910,¹ we find that, from 1899 to 1910, of the 61,073 immigrants from Roumania who entered the United States, 54,827, or 89.8 per cent, were Jews. Thus practically nine-tenths of the immigrants from Roumania are Jews. In the five years in which the Jewish movement was at its height, the Jews constituted from 91 per cent to 95.7 per cent of the Roumanian immigration. The immigration

brought about by steamship agents who created great excitement in Roumania by distributing glowing circulars about America."

It is remarkable that with so large an emigration of Roumanian Jews during these eight months, ostensibly directed to America, only 6183 Roumanian Jews were recorded as arriving in the United States in 1900, and only 6,827 in 1901. In the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, Professor Ross's figure is approached; for the entire period 54,827 Roumanian Jews are officially recorded as entering the United States.

Even of the relatively large immigration of Jews from Roumania in 1900, the cause clearly was not the activity of steamship agents. Compare the report of the president of the United Hebrew Charities, keenly alive to the problems presented to the American Jews by the Jewish immigration:

"The last few months have been noteworthy in the history of the Jewish race for an outbreak of Anti-Semitism in a far-away country, the far-reaching effects of which have been keenly felt in this city. I refer of course, to the persecutions of the Jews in Roumania. A small group of Jewish philanthropists of this city (under the direction of the IOOB) has taken up the task of providing for the newcomers." Such a response is not usually given to immigrants lured to this country by promises of gain.

United Hebrew Charities of New York City, Oct., 1900, p. 19.

¹ Cf. table XIX, p. 168.

of other peoples from Roumania is insignificant. The highest number entering in any of the twelve years amounted to less than 800.

Still more significant is the intensity of immigration of the Roumanian Jews, especially in view of the negligible number of immigrants from Roumania other than Jews. The rate of immigration of the Roumanian Jews is far higher than that even of their Russian brethren.¹ The average annual immigration of Roumanian Jews, for the twelve years, from 1899 to 1910, amounted to 4,569, which represented an average rate of immigration for the Roumanian Jews of 175 per 10,000 of the Jewish population in Roumania. In the five years of maximum immigration, from 1900 to 1904, the rate was considerably higher, reaching in 1903 the enormous proportion of 329 immigrants to every 10,000 Jews in Roumania. The lowest rate during this period, that of 1900, was only slightly smaller than the maximum rate approached by the Jewish immigrants from Russia. However, in the three years which represented the highest point of the rate of immigration of the Jews from Russia, from 1905 to 1907, the rate of immigration for the corresponding years in Roumania was considerably smaller.

The Jewish immigration from Roumania is thus a product chiefly of the last decade. The rise in the first decade and the relatively tremendous rise in the last decade are a result largely of the activities of the Roumanian government. The vast majority of the immigrants from Roumania are Jews, whose rate of immigration is unprecedented.

¹ Cf. table XX, p. 168.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE immigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary began before the eighties of the last century, becoming at the beginning of the nineties a relatively strong and steady current. Until recently, this immigration was almost exclusively from Galicia.¹

Summarizing the movement by decades,² we find that 44,619 Jews, or 15.9 per cent of the total, came during the decade from 1881 to 1890; 83,720 immigrants, or 29.8 per cent of the total, came during the decade from 1891 to 1900. In the last decade, from 1901 to 1910, there entered 152,811 immigrants, or 54.3 per cent of the total. Thus there is a nearly steady rise of the movement, though it is not as great as that found in the Jewish immigration from Russia.

The annual variations are also not as large as are found in the Russian Jewish movement.³ The greatest number that came in any year in the first decade was in 1887, when 6,898 immigrants arrived, contributing 2.4 per cent of the total for the year. The highest number that came in the second decade was in 1899, when 11,071 immigrants arrived, contributing 3.9 per cent of the total. From this year there began a great rise which reached its maximum in 1904 with an immigration of 20,211 Jews, consti-

¹ Buzek, "Das Auswanderungsproblem in Oesterreich," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, p. 458.

² Cf. table XXI, p. 169.

³ Cf. table XXII, p. 169.

tuting 7.2 per cent of the total—the highest point attained in the entire movement.

A comparison of the fluctuations of the Jewish with those of the total Austro-Hungarian immigration shows that the former follows the general movement quite closely, though there are minor differences and the maximum periods of both movements do not coincide.¹

An examination of the part the Jewish played in the general immigration from Austria-Hungary shows that during the entire period of thirty years there entered into the United States from Austria-Hungary 3,091,692 immigrants, to which the Jews contributed 281,150 immigrants, or 9.1 per cent.² That the Jewish movement was relatively stronger in the earlier period than the general movement from Austria-Hungary is indicated by the fact that the Jews participate to a much larger extent in the movement of the first decades than in that of the last. In the first decade, from 1881 to 1890, of the 353,719 immigrants from Austria-Hungary, the Jews were 44,619, or 12.6 per cent of the total for the decade. In the decade from 1891 to 1900, of the 592,707 immigrants they were 83,720, or 14.1 per cent of the total. In the last decade, of 2,145,266 immigrants, they were 158,811, or 7.4 per cent of the entire movement. The Jewish movement is thus seen to be relatively the strongest in the second decade. Its fall in the last decade to almost half the proportion of the preceding decade was due to the tremendous growth in the immigration of the other races from Austria-Hungary. Whereas the general movement nearly quadrupled its numbers in the last decade, the Jewish movement did not quite double its numbers.

The largest part in the movement from Austria-Hungary

¹ Cf. table XXIII, p. 170.

² Cf. table XXIV, p. 170.

was taken by the Jews during the earlier years.¹ The highest point was reached in 1886, when the Jews constituted 18.6 per cent of the total movement. In the following year the Jewish immigrants constituted 17.1 per cent. Other years in which the Jews participated strongly were 1895, and from 1897 to 1899. In 1898 the second highest point was reached, the Jews constituting 18.5 per cent of the movement. From 1904 a great fall ensued. The lowest point was reached in 1909, when the Jews constituted only 5 per cent of the total movement.

A clearer idea of the situation would be obtained if the figures for the years and decades could be ascertained for Austria and Hungary separately, as the Jews in each of the divisions of the Dual Monarchy differ considerably in their immigration tendency. Austria and Hungary are distinguished in the immigration statistics only since 1910. Nevertheless, the three years from 1910 to 1912 serve to show that the Jews from Austria immigrate to the United States in much larger numbers than their brethren in Hungary. From 1910 to 1912, out of a total of 36,684 Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary, 29,340, or fully four-fifths, came from Austria. The participation of the Austrian Jews in the general movement is also correspondingly larger. From 1910 to 1912, the Jewish immigrants from Austria numbered 29,340 out of a total of 303,776, constituting 9.7 per cent of the total Austrian immigration. For the same period the Jewish immigrants from Hungary numbered only 7,344 out of a total of 292,900, constituting 2.5 per cent of the total. Thus the Jews participate in the movement from Austria practically four times as much as in the movement from Hungary.

The relative position of the Jews among the peoples im-

¹ Cf. table XXIV, p. 170.

migrating from Austria is of interest in this connection. The peoples with which comparison must be maintained are those concentrated in Galicia, the chief source of the Jewish, Polish and Ruthenian immigration.¹ For the seven years between 1899 and 1905, the Jewish immigrants constituted the second largest group. From 1906, they fell into the third position (excepting in 1908), owing to the rapid increase of immigration among the Ruthenians.

The average rate of immigration of the Jews of Austria-Hungary for the twelve-year period from 1899 to 1910, is 74 for every 10,000 Jews in the Empire.² The maximum rate was 97, which was reached in the immigration of 1904. In comparison with the Russian and Roumanian Jewish immigrants, those from Austria-Hungary have a far lower rate of immigration. This is true for the average as well as for the single years. However, in the first two years, 1899 and 1900, the rate of immigration was higher among the Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary. In comparison with the rate of immigration of the Poles and the Ruthenians, the Jews occupy an intermediate position, having a lower rate than the Poles and a higher rate than the Ruthenians.³

The Jewish movement from Austria-Hungary thus shows a fairly steady rise, but neither in its yearly variations nor its rate of immigration does it give evidence of any exceptional characteristics.

¹ Cf. table XXV, p. 171.

² Cf. table XXVI, p. 171.

³ Cf. Hersch, *op. cit.*, p. 43. This comparison gives a lower rate of immigration to the Jews than they really possess, owing to the fact that it is based upon the total Jewish population of Austria-Hungary, and not upon that of Galicia, from which province the great majority of the Jewish immigrants come.

CHAPTER VI

TOTAL JEWISH IMMIGRATION

THE movement of the total Jewish immigration for the thirty years becomes clear in the light of the preceding pages. It is a rising movement, divided into two parts, the first culminating in 1892 and the second culminating in 1906. Like the Russian Jewish immigration which underlies it, the movement is one of geometrical progression.¹ From 1881 to 1890, 193,021 Jewish immigrants entered this country, 12.3 per cent of the total Jewish immigration. From 1891 to 1900, 393,516 Jewish immigrants, or 25.2 per cent entered. In the last decade there entered the enormous number of 976,263 Jewish immigrants, representing 62.5 per cent of the total Jewish immigration for the thirty years. This was more than twice as many as had entered the preceding decade, and more than five times the number of those who had entered the first decade. The Jewish immigration is in its largest part a product of the last decade.

The rise has not, however, been uniformly steady, as a division of the entire period into five six-year periods shows.² In the period from 1893 to 1898, there was a fall in the Jewish immigration. This period coincides with the years of depression in the United States following the panic of 1893. The fall was chiefly due to that in the Russian Jewish immigration. The Jewish immigration from Austria-Hungary on the contrary showed a relative rise. For

¹ Cf. table XXVII, p. 172.

² Cf. table XXVIII, p. 172.

this period, as well as for a few years before, the Roumanian Jewish immigration contributed smaller numbers than in the previous decade. As in the case of the Russian Jewish movement, if we compare the immigration of the six-year period from 1885 to 1890, with that from 1893 to 1898, omitting the years 1891 and 1892 which are influenced in their great rise by the exceptional circumstances occurring within these two years, we find that the Jewish immigration was higher during the latter period of depression in the United States than during the earlier period, the total number of immigrants being 167,567 for the latter period, and 153,951 for the former.

In the period from 1899 to 1904 there was a great rise. A quarter of the entire immigration came in this period. The largest number of immigrants—more than two-fifths of the total of thirty years—came in the period from 1905 to 1910. If we included the immigration of 1904, which properly belongs to the later movement, we find that half of the entire Jewish immigration came within the seven years from 1904 to 1910.

The yearly variations of the total Jewish immigration correspond closely in the main to those of the Russian Jewish movement.¹ The influence of the other movements is, however, felt, at times quite strongly. Before 1885 the total Jewish immigration was quite small; less than 10,000 (except in 1882) or less than 1 per cent of the total, arrived each year. The rise of the immigration in 1882 to 13,202 was wholly due to the increase in the number of Russian Jewish immigrants. The second half of this decade was marked by a rising tide in the Jewish immigration from all the countries of Eastern Europe, which reached a height in 1887, with an immigration of 33,044,

¹ Cf. table XXIX, p. 173.

constituting more than 2 per cent of the total number. This was but a prelude to the great rise at the opening of the second decade which in 1892 reached the number of 76,373 Jewish immigrants, the highest number attained in the first two decades. The immigration for this year alone constituted nearly one-twentieth of the total Jewish immigration. The increase of these years is due solely to the increase in the Russian Jewish immigration. From this point a fall ensued, which lasted until 1899. The fall was strongest in the Russian and the Roumanian movements. The absolute numbers and the relative proportions in the Jewish movement from Austria-Hungary increased. The tremendous rise of the last decade began in 1899. In 1900 the number of Jewish arrivals rose to 60,764. This increase was general, though it reached unusual proportions in the immigration from Roumania.

The fall in the next two years was due to a decrease in the number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary. That from Russia remained the same as in 1900, and the Roumanian Jewish immigration maintained the high level established in that year.

The immigration of 1903 surpassed the great numbers attained in 1892. The rise of nearly 20,000 of this year was general, though relatively greatest in the Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary.

The next three years marks the heights of the movement. In 1904, the 30,000 immigrants which represented the increase from the preceding year were Russian Jews. This is equally true of the large increase of 1905. In this year a fall took place both in the Austrian and Roumanian Jewish immigration. The Jewish immigration from the United Kingdom rose tremendously from 817 of the preceding year to 14,299,¹ an increase which reflects the influ-

¹ Cf. table VI, p. 93.

ences of the Russian Jewish movement for this year, and indicates that this movement from the United Kingdom must be considered as largely Russian Jewish.

The year 1906 marked the high-water mark of Jewish immigration for thirty years. 153,748 immigrants, practically one-tenth of the total movement, came in this year. As in the preceding year, the increase in the immigration from Russia (including the numbers from the United Kingdom) was the basis of the increase in the total.

From this point on we have a decline. The decline in 1907 to 149,182 immigrants reflected the decline in the numbers of the Russian Jewish immigrants, those from Austria-Hungary increasing. In this year the number of immigrants from British North America became conspicuous. In 1908 the immigration fell to 103,387, reflecting almost wholly the fall in the numbers of the Russian Jewish immigrants. The year 1909 marked a tremendous decline of the Jewish immigration to 57,551 immigrants. This decline was general, though relatively the greatest in the Austro-Hungarian and the Roumanian immigration.

A speedy recovery in numbers was shown in 1910 when the immigration rose to 84,260, recurring to the numbers at the beginning of the recent great rise, and higher than the immigration of any year before 1904. The rise was felt equally in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian immigration, relatively little in the Roumanian.

Thus by far the chief influence in the movement of the Jewish immigration for these thirty years has been the Russian Jewish immigration. In its growth of numbers, and in its rise and fall, the total Jewish immigration of the last thirty years is a reflection of the movement of the Russian Jews to this country.

CHAPTER VII

PARTICIPATION OF JEWS IN TOTAL IMMIGRATION

WE turn now to a consideration of the part played by the Jewish immigration in the total immigration to this country for these thirty years.¹ A general rise is revealed in the proportions the Jewish bore to the total immigration. In the decade between 1881 and 1890, of the 5,246,613 immigrants, the Jewish immigrants were 193,021, or 3.7 per cent of the total. In the decade between 1891 and 1900, of the 3,687,564 immigrants, the Jewish immigrants numbered 393,516. The Jewish proportion of the total rose to 10.7 per cent. This really tremendous rise was due to the fact that while the total number of immigrants fell off one-third in this decade, the Jewish immigrants doubled their numbers. It is from this decade that the Jewish immigrants become conspicuous in the immigration to the United States. In the decade between 1901 and 1910, of the 8,795,386 immigrants, the Jewish immigrants numbered 976,263. The proportion of the Jewish immigrants to the total rose to 11.1 per cent. Even in this decade of tremendous increase in the general immigration, the Jewish immigration rose at a still greater rate.

For the entire period the Jewish immigration was 8.8 per cent of the total immigration.² This proportion was not reached before 1891. The maximum in the first decade was in 1887, when the Jewish immigration constituted 6.7 per

¹ Cf. table XXX, p. 174.

² Cf. table XXXI, p. 174.

cent of the total for the year. In 1891, this proportion rose to 9.2 per cent. It reached its highest point during nineteen years, in 1892, when the Jewish immigrants constituted 13.2 per cent of the total for the year. Throughout the period of depression, from 1893 to 1898, the contribution of the Jewish to the total immigration was, with two exceptions, above its average for the thirty years. In 1893, when the number of Jewish immigrants fell to half of that of the preceding year, its contribution to the total was 8 per cent. In 1897, a year of lowest Jewish as well as general immigration, its proportion was the same as the average. In the following years the contribution of the Jewish immigration rose proportionately, and in 1900 it reached the maximum for thirty years, constituting 13.5 per cent of the total for the year. The next highest proportion was reached in the year of maximum Jewish immigration, 1906, when the Jewish immigrants represented 13.4 per cent of the total for the year. Throughout the years from 1904 to 1908, the Jewish immigrants contributed above their average for the period. In 1908, when the numbers both of the Jewish and the total immigration had been greatly reduced, the Jewish immigrants contributed 13.2 per cent of the total, one of the highest proportions in the entire period, a fact which indicates that the Jewish immigrant tide recedes more slowly than that of the total immigration. In 1909, the year in which the effect of the panic of 1907 was registered in the Jewish immigration, the proportion of the Jewish immigrants to the total fell to 7.7 per cent. A slight relative rise took place in 1910 to 8.1 per cent.

A comparison of the annual fluctuations of the Jewish and the total immigration enables us to distinguish some points of difference.¹ Though, on the whole, the Jewish

¹ Cf. table XXXII, p. 175.

corresponds with the total immigration in its rise and fall, there are significant differences. Thus, 1882 represents a year of high immigration in each, but the rise is in the case of the total immigration one of 17.9 per cent over that of the preceding year, but in the case of the Jewish, it represents a rise of 131.9 per cent over that of the preceding year, proportionately more than seven times as great. Another period of rising movement is in 1891 and 1892. Where, however, in 1891 the total immigration rose 20.9 per cent, the Jewish rose 79.5 per cent. In 1892, the total rose 3.4 per cent, the Jewish rose 48.6 per cent. In all these cases the difference is so great as to indicate the working of special influences in the Jewish movement.

The existence of these special influences is again evident in the last decade. In 1904, the total immigration fell off 5.2 per cent, but the Jewish immigration rose 39.4 per cent. In 1906, in spite of the great total immigration of that year, and its increase of 7.2 per cent over the preceding year, the increase of the Jewish was 18.2 per cent—more than double that of the total. Again, the maximum periods of the two movements do not coincide. The total immigration reached its highest point for the thirty years in 1907. The maximum of the Jewish movement was in 1906.

The panic of 1907 also appears to have influenced the Jewish immigration more slowly than the total. The greatest fall in the latter took place in 1908, immediately after the panic. The greatest fall of the Jewish immigration took place in 1909. This is another indication of the slowness of the response of the Jewish immigration to business conditions in this country, as compared with the rapid response of the general body of immigrants.

As the racial classification was introduced only in 1899, it is impossible to determine for the entire thirty

years the exact place the Jews occupy in the movement of peoples from the Old World to the New. During the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, there entered the United States a total of 1,074,442 Jewish immigrants, an annual average of nearly ninety thousand. This was the second largest body of immigrants, constituting more than a tenth of the total immigration for this period. In this regard the Jews were surpassed only by the South Italians.¹

This is an immense volume of immigration, both relatively and absolutely, and indicates to what an extent the immigration tendency has seized the Jews. In this tendency, however, the Jews from the different countries of Europe differ very strongly. As practically only three countries of Eastern Europe—Russia, Roumania and Austria-Hungary—are represented in the recent Jewish immigration, a rate of immigration established for the Jews should be based upon the population of these countries rather than upon the total Jewish population in Europe. Thus established, the Jews have the highest rate of immigration of any immigrant peoples. In 1906, during the maximum period of Jewish immigration, the rate of immigration of the East-European Jews was twenty out of every thousand. In 1907, the rate of the Jewish immigration was nineteen out of every thousand. The Jews are approached in this respect only by the Slovaks, who, in 1907, had a rate of immigration of eighteen per thousand. In this respect, the Jewish immigration is seen to occupy an exceptional position in the recent movement of peoples from Europe to this country.

¹ This average and the same relative position is maintained if we take the fifteen years from 1899 to 1913, in which period there entered 1,347,590 Jewish immigrants.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

THE preceding analysis of the movement of the Jewish immigration to the United States and that of its Russian, Roumanian and Austro-Hungarian tributaries, from 1881 to 1910, has revealed certain facts of importance.

The progressive nature of the Jewish movement has been disclosed. The greatest numbers have come within the last decade. This is particularly true of the movement from Roumania, and to a less extent of the movement from Russia. On the other hand, a larger relative proportion of the Jews from Austria-Hungary came during the first two decades. Throughout, the Jews from Russia have predominated in the total movement, governing its course for practically the entire period.

In the total movement from the three countries of Eastern Europe, the Jews have participated most strongly in the Roumanian immigration, constituting nine-tenths of this immigration. The Jews are nearly a half of the immigrants from Russia. Their participation in the immigration from Austria-Hungary is relatively much smaller, being less than a tenth of the total immigration. In the immigration of the two latter countries, the Jews show a lessening participation, due to the great growth of the immigration of the other peoples. In the movements from Russia and Roumania, the participation of the Jewish immigrants rises greatly in all periods significant in the situation of the Jews in these countries. The influence of the unusual conditions

facing the Jews in Russia and Roumania and of the principal events in their history for these thirty years is reflected in the annual fluctuations of the Jewish immigration of each of these countries to the United States. The economic and social pressure exerted upon the Jews in Russia and Roumania is reflected in the degree emigration is utilized by them. The Jews from Russia have a much higher rate of immigration than any other people immigrating from Russia. The rate of immigration of the Jews from Roumania is the highest among the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. In both annual fluctuations and rate of immigration the movement of the Jews from Austria-Hungary does not indicate the existence of special influences.

The participation of the Jews in the total immigration to the United States is large and increasing in importance. For the last fifteen years they formed the second largest body of immigrants. Their rate of immigration is also higher than that of any other immigrant people. Of note, too, is the slow response of their immigration to unfavorable economic conditions in this country. When these facts are joined to those which have shown the striking relative participation of the Jews in the movements from Russia and Roumania, and the existence of special causes operating in these countries and indicating their influence in the yearly variations and in an extraordinary rate of immigration, it becomes clear that for the largest part of this period of thirty years Jewish immigration is controlled mainly by the conditions and events affecting the fate of the Jews in the countries of Eastern Europe.

That the conditions in the United States exercise an influence, favorable or unfavorable, upon the immigration of Jews is undoubted. The influences, however, exerted by the

conditions abroad are far stronger and steadier, and, on the whole, override the latter.

The conclusion previously reached that the Jewish immigration is for the largest part the result of the expulsive and rejective forces of governmental persecution is thus strengthened by this examination into the situation as presented by the figures of the Jewish immigration to the United States. With it as a guiding principle, some of the main characteristics peculiar to the Jewish immigration are explained. To these we now turn.

PART II

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE
UNITED STATES

B. ITS CHARACTERISTICS

CHAPTER I

FAMILY MOVEMENT

VITAL aspects of an immigrant people are revealed in its sex and age distribution. Generally speaking, whether an immigration is composed of individuals or of families is shown in the relative proportion of males and females, and of adults and children, of which it is composed.

That the Jewish movement is essentially a family movement is shown by the great proportion of females and children found in it.¹ From 1899 to 1910, out of a total immigration of 1,074,442 Jews, 607,822, or 56.6 per cent were males, and 466,620, or 43.4 per cent, were females. These proportions have varied but slightly throughout the period. The greatest departures were in the years 1904 and 1905. The increase of the immigration of males in these years is explained by the unusual conditions existing in Russia at this time—economic unrest, revolution—which had the effect of sending over the men as an *avantgarde* to prepare the way for their families. Young men fleeing to escape conscription also swelled the numbers. In 1906, however, the number of males decreased by 2,000, but that of females increased by more than 25,000. In this tremendous increase of females is registered the effect of the *pogroms* of 1905-6, in which years the movement became a veritable flight.

The general tendency has been towards an increase in the proportion of females. For the thirteen years pre-

¹ Cf. table XXXIII, p. 176.

ceding, from 1886 to 1898,¹ out of a total immigration at the port of New York of 251,623 Jewish adults, 147,053, or 58.4 per cent, were males, and 104,570, or 41.6 per cent, were females. The proportion of males is here somewhat higher than that for the period from 1899 to 1910. The difference is, however, relatively small. The tendency, previously noted, towards the increase in the proportion of females is found here. The greater relative diminution of the males in the later years—in 1894 reaching the point where there were more females—is even striking.

Turning to a consideration of the ages of the Jewish immigrants, we learn that, between 1899 and 1910, 267,656, or practically one-fourth of all the Jewish immigrants, were children under fourteen years.² The large part that is taken in the Jewish immigration by the children is apparent.

Here, again, 1904 and 1905 represent periods of great increase in the immigration of those between fourteen and forty-four years. As was the case with the females, the proportion of children in the immigration is at its greatest in the year 1906, by far the largest part of the increase for this year being children, thus giving a significant indication of the extent and literalness of the flight from Russia in this year of *pogroms*.³ In the thirteen years preceding, from 1886 to 1898, of the 380,278 Jewish immigrants that entered the port of New York for this period, 128,655, or 33.8 per cent, were children under sixteen years of age.⁴ A steady increase in the latter years is noted in the proportion of children, which harmonizes with a similar tendency noted of the females for the same period.

That these facts reveal a family movement of consider-

¹ Cf. table XXXIV, p. 176.

² Cf. table XXXV, p. 177.

³ Cf. Hersch, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴ Cf. table XXXVI, p. 177.

able size, there is no question. They become truly significant when comparison is made with the proportions of the females and the children in the general immigration and with those of the peoples of which it is composed.

A comparison of the proportion of males and females in the total and the Jewish immigration from 1899 to 1910 shows that for the entire period the percentage of females in the Jewish was much higher than in the total immigration, 43.4 per cent of the Jewish immigration being females as compared with 30.5 per cent of the total.¹ The percentage of females in the Jewish immigration was higher for every year from 1899 to 1910.

While the percentage of males in the total immigration was above 70 per cent in five years, the percentage of males in the Jewish immigration was less than 60 per cent in all but two years, 1904 and 1905, when it rose to 61.2 per cent and 63.2 per cent. The latter, which represents the highest point in the percentage of males in the Jewish immigration, was smaller than the percentage of males in the total immigration for every year but 1899. In other words the maximum percentage of males in the Jewish and the minimum percentage in the total immigration practically coincide.

In the period between 1899 and 1909 the proportion of children under fourteen years of age in the Jewish immigration was 24.8 per cent, while that in the total immigration was only 12.3 per cent.² The Jewish thus had proportionately twice as many children as the total immigration.

The exceptional position of the Jews in regard to their family movement is most strikingly shown when the

¹ Cf. table XXXVII, p. 178.

² Cf. *Abstract of Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 14. See Bibliography.

composition of the Jewish immigration by sex and age is compared with that of the other immigrant peoples.¹ In a comparison with immigrant races which contributed more than 100,000 to the total immigration from 1899 to 1910, the Jews are seen to have a higher proportion of females than any other people except the Irish. The Irish present in this regard an anomaly, in that they have more females than males in their immigration. That it is not in the main a family movement is shown by reference to the proportion of children under fourteen in the Irish immigration, which is only 5 per cent, one of the lowest in the entire series. The anomaly is easily explained by the well-known fact that their females for the most part are single, who come to the United States to work as servants.²

Only one other people, the Bohemian and Moravian, approached the Jewish in its high proportion of females. On the other hand, the one people with a larger immigration than the Jewish, the South Italian, presents a striking contrast to the Jewish immigration, in that its proportion of females was about half that of the Jews. Although its immigrants numbered twice as many as the Jewish, the females in the Italian movement were only 408,965, as compared with 466,620 females in the Jewish immigration.

A comparison of the immigrant peoples with reference to their composition by age shows that the Jewish movement contains without any exception the largest proportion of children.³ Out of a total of 990,182 Jewish immigrants from 1899 to 1909, 245,787, or 24.8 per cent, were children under fourteen. In this regard, again, the Bohemian and Moravian approach the Jewish, though

¹ Cf. table XXXVIII, p. 179.

² Cf. *Abstract of Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 15, for the high proportion of servants among the Irish immigrants.

³ Cf. table XXXIX, p. 180.

not as closely as in the proportion of females. The contrast with the South Italians obtains here as well. As the Jewish immigration, during the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, was the second highest in numbers, contributing more than a million to the total, the number of females and children found in its movement was higher than that of any other immigrant race, not only relatively but absolutely as well.

Most striking, indeed, is the contrast in these respects between the Jewish immigrants and the other races coming from the countries of Eastern Europe, particularly the Slavic immigrant races with whom the Jews have been associated in the official statistics.¹ An examination of the proportion of females in the immigration of the eight races composing the Slavic group, shows that, with the exception of the Bohemians and Moravians (whose movement presents strong similarities to that of the Jews), the percentage of females was less than a third of the total immigration of each race, the highest being that of the Poles, which was 30.5 per cent. The contrast is even more striking in respect to children under fourteen. Here, again, excluding the Bohemians and Moravians, the highest percentage in the group was that of the Poles, 9.5 per cent. In this respect, therefore, the association of the Jewish immigrants with the other immigrants from Eastern Europe, under the rubric "Slavic races", is seen to be untenable.

Strongest of all is the contrast between the Jewish immigration and that of the Roumanian people.² The Roumanian movement is seen to be composed practically wholly of individuals, only 9 per cent being females, while that of the people from Roumania (nine-tenths of whom are

¹ Cf. table XL, p. 181.

² Cf. table XLI, p. 181. The Roumanian immigrants come principally from Austria-Hungary, and only slightly from Roumania.

Jews¹) is seen to have a proportion of females higher even than that in the total Jewish immigration. Even greater is the contrast with respect to age, only 2.2 per cent of the Roumanians being children under fourteen.

The division of the peoples represented in the immigration to the United States into "old" and "new", the former consisting of the peoples from Northern and Western Europe, the latter of the peoples from Southern and Eastern Europe, is a convenient classification essentially of two periods of immigration coinciding largely with changes in the economic conditions in the United States.

A comparison of the proportion of females and children in the "old" and the "new" immigration with that in the Jewish shows that the Jewish immigration has proportionately almost twice as many females as the "new" immigration (Jews excepted), and surpasses even the "old" immigration in this regard.² Of children under fourteen the Jewish movement has proportionately more than two and one-half times as many as the "new" immigration (Jews excepted), and nearly twice as many as the "old" immigration.

This analysis shows conclusively that the Jewish immigration is essentially a family movement; that it is approached by no other immigrant people in this regard; that it not only cannot be classed with the "new" immigration, but shows a tendency towards family movement far stronger than that of the peoples composing the "old" immigration.

The significance of this characteristic of the Jewish immigration is obvious. Their unequaled family movement gives one of the clearest indications that the Jewish immigrants are essentially composed of permanent settlers.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 131, note 2.

² Cf. table XLII, p. 182.

CHAPTER II

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

OUR studies of the sex and age distribution of the Jewish immigrants have shown a family movement unsurpassed in degree. This in itself is sufficient indication that the Jews are essentially permanent settlers in this country and not transients, "who have no intention of permanently changing their residence and whose only purpose in coming to America is temporarily to take advantage of greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country."¹

Equally convincing evidence is afforded by a survey of the facts regarding the outward movement of Jews from this country.² The figures of Jewish immigration are obtainable only from 1908, the law of 1907 having required all steamship companies to furnish information regarding their emigrant passengers.

The relative stability of an immigration may be determined by contrasting the departure of the aliens composing the immigration with the arriving immigrants of this group for the same period. From 1908 to 1912, 33,315 Jews left the United States—an average annual emigration of 6,660 Jews. This is a strikingly low number, especially when compared with the large Jewish immigration for the same period, which numbered 417,016, and averaged annually 83,400 Jewish immigrants. Thus, for every hundred Jews admitted, only eight

¹ Immigration Commission: *Conclusions and Recommendations*, p. 16.

² Cf. table XLIII, p. 182.

Jews left the country. This average proportion was largely exceeded only in 1909, not, however, because of any great increase in the absolute numbers of the Jewish emigrants, but because of the great fall in the number of Jewish immigrants of this year.

The part that is taken by the Jewish emigrants in the total emigration is insignificant and is in striking contrast with the great part taken by the Jewish immigrants in the total immigration.¹ From 1908 to 1912, the Jewish immigrants constituted 9.7 per cent of the total immigrants. In the same period, the Jewish emigrants constituted only 2.3 per cent of the total emigrants. Moreover, while the proportion that the Jewish immigrants constituted of the total immigrants exhibited a considerable and significant variation, fluctuating from 7.7 per cent to 13.2 per cent, the proportion the Jewish emigrants constituted of the total emigrants remained around 2 per cent and showed practically no variation. Relatively both to the number of Jewish immigrants and of total emigrants, therefore, the number of the Jewish emigrants is exceedingly small and practically negligible.

How great the relative stability of the Jewish immigration is may be seen when its return movement is compared with that of the total immigration and of other peoples conspicuous in the immigration to the United States.² Whereas, from 1908 to 1910, for every hundred admitted in the total immigration, thirty-two departed—the outward movement thus approximating one-third of the inward—in the case of the Jewish immigration, only eight departed, an outward movement only one-quarter as large, relatively, as the total. This was the smallest outward movement, relatively to the inward, of any immigrant peo-

¹*Cf.* table XLIV, p. 183.

²*Cf.* table XLV, p. 183.

ple, except the Irish, whose outward movement was 6 per cent of the inward. Relatively to the inward movement, the Jews had an outward movement one-seventh as large as the South Italians, almost one-fourth as large as the Poles, and less than one-half as large as the Germans.

In the total immigration for these years, the Jews were the third largest group with 236,100 immigrants, which constituted 10.2 per cent of the total immigration. To the outward movement for this period, however, they contributed 18,543 Jews, which constituted only 2.5 per cent of the total number of emigrants, one of the smallest contributions. The Poles, who constituted 11.7 per cent of the immigration for the three years, contributed practically the same proportion, 11.4 per cent, to the outward movement. Even more striking is the contrast with the Italian movement. The Italians contributed 19.8 per cent of the inward movement for the period and 35.7 per cent of the outward movement for the three years. Though their immigration for these three years was only twice as large as that of the Jews, their emigration was more than fourteen times that of the Jews. In other words, no people combined in an equal degree as the Jews so small a number of emigrants with so large a number of immigrants.

It is interesting to determine what is the emigration tendency of the Jews coming from Russia, Roumania and Austria-Hungary. This may be gathered from the number of emigrants returned for each of these countries, from 1908 to 1912, as compared with the number admitted.¹ From 1908 to 1912, 294,813 Jews from Russia entered the United States and 20,546 Jews departed for Russia; 11,246 Jews from Roumania entered the United States and 546 Jews departed for Roumania; 60,408 Jews from Aus-

¹ Cf. table XLVI, p. 134.

tria-Hungary entered the United States, and 8,513 Jews departed for Austria-Hungary. In other words, for every hundred Jews entering from Russia seven departed, for every hundred Jews entering from Roumania five Jews departed, for every hundred Jews entering from Austria-Hungary fourteen departed for their respective countries. The emigration tendency was thus smaller with the Roumanian and the Russian Jews than with the Austro-Hungarian Jews. This held true for each of the five years. Relatively twice as many Jews from Austria-Hungary as from Russia returned. The Roumanian Jews showed the smallest tendency to return.

Of importance is the question of the relative stability of the Jewish movement from Russia and Austria-Hungary and that of their close neighbors in these countries, the Poles, who contributed almost as large a current of immigrants to the United States as the Jews, and who, since they constitute the most important Slavic group, may be taken as the type of the Slavic movement to this country.

From 1908 to 1912, 265,964 Polish immigrants from Russia were admitted to the United States and 60,290 Poles departed for Russia, this constituting an average emigration of twenty-two per hundred admitted.¹ As, for every hundred Russian Jews admitted in this period, only seven departed, this constituted a relative emigration one-third as large as that of the Poles. For the same period, 214,931 Poles were admitted from Austria-Hungary and 88,994 Poles left for that country, which constituted an average emigration of forty-one per hundred admitted. The average emigration of the Jews from Austria-Hungary was fourteen per hundred admitted or practically one-third as large as that of the Poles. Thus, the Jewish immigrants

¹ *Cf.* table XLVII, p. 184.

from Russia and Austria-Hungary present relatively three times as stable a movement as the Polish immigrants from these countries.

The fact that the Jewish emigration from Galicia was a movement of families and was essentially a movement of permanent settlement in their new home was noted by Buzek as characteristic of this emigration even in the early eighties, and as strongly contrasted with the emigration of the Poles from Galicia.¹

A comparison of the return movement of the "old" and the "new" immigration with that of the Jewish immigration gives similar results.² For every hundred admitted, there were, in the "new" immigration, forty-two emigrants, relatively more than five times as many as among the Jews. Even in the "old" immigration, which is largely accepted as the type of permanent immigration, for every hundred admitted, there were thirteen emigrants, about one and a half times as many relatively as among the Jews. The Jewish immigration must thus be accorded the place of distinction in American immigration for permanence of settlement.

An unusual test of this conclusion was afforded by the remarkable emigration following the crisis of 1907.³ The general opinion that "the causes which retard emigration from abroad also accelerate the exodus from the United States", was considerably strengthened by the great exodus of 1908. To this rule the Jewish immigration forms, again, a most striking exception. Although its number in 1907—149,182 immigrants—was only slightly below its maximum for thirty years, and constituted the second highest immigration for the year, only 7,702 Jews left the country in

¹ Buzek, *op cit.*, p. 467.

² *Cf.* table XLVIII, p. 185.

³ *Cf.* table XLIX, p. 185.

1908. This constituted only two per cent of the total emigration for that year. Relatively to the number admitted the Jewish emigration was, without exception, the lowest, being only five departed for every hundred admitted. The remarkable disparity in this regard with the Poles and the Italian was again shown here. For every hundred Poles entering in 1907, thirty-three emigrated in 1908. For every hundred South Italians entering in 1907, sixty emigrated in 1908.

That the business conditions of this country affect Jewish immigration is unquestioned, but the difference in the degree and the manner of the response puts it in a class apart. A comparison of the total gain in population in 1908 and 1909 in the immigration of Italians and Jews shows that whereas in the Italian inward and outward movement in 1908 there was a net loss to this country of 79,966, but in 1909 a net gain of 94,806, in the Jewish inward and outward movement in 1908 there was a net gain of 95,685, and in 1909 a net gain of 50,705.¹ The Jewish immigration responds in its inward movement much more slowly and less completely to the pressure of unfavorable conditions in this country. In its outward movement it shows practically no response.

The conclusion that the Jewish immigrants constitute to an unusual degree a body of permanent settlers is strengthened by an examination of the figures concerning immigrants who have been in the United States previously.² Of the total from 1899 to 1910 of 9,220,066 immigrants,

¹ The number of Jewish emigrant aliens in 1908 was deducted from the number of Jewish immigrant aliens: the combined number of Jewish emigrant and non-emigrant aliens in 1909 was deducted from the combined number of Jewish immigrant and non-immigrant aliens. Cf. Fairchild, *Immigration*, 1913, p. 361.

² Cf. table L, p. 186.

1,108,948, or 12 per cent, had been here before. Of the 1,074,442 Jews who entered the country during this period, only 22,914, or 2.1 per cent, had been previously in the United States. The proportion of Jews who have been in this country before is by far the lowest of any immigrant peoples.

As the total Jewish exodus is insignificant as compared both with the total emigration and the proportion of the Jewish immigration in the total inward movement; as the Jewish outward movement shows practically no response to unfavorable economic conditions in this country, and as the Jewish inward movement presents the phenomenon of a practically new body of immigrants, we are led to conclude that the Jewish immigration exhibits a quality of permanence and stability to so great a degree as to render this fact one of its distinguishing characteristics.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONS

THE occupations of an immigrant people throw light upon their industrial equipment and their probable future occupations in this country. A study of the occupational distribution of the Jewish immigrants from 1899 to 1910 will serve to illuminate some of the characteristics of their movement.¹

The largest group is that classed as having "no occupation". This group comprises 484,175 immigrants, and is 45.1 per cent of the total. In the fact that it holds so large a place in the occupational distribution, there is reflected the great number of women and children among the Jewish immigrants. The rise in the proportion of the "no occupation" group in the second half of the twelve years follows a similar rise in the proportion of women and children in the Jewish movement, which has been previously noted.² These are, in the main, economically dependent, a fact which is of the highest importance with reference to the character of this immigration, as well as in its influence upon the economic and social problems facing the immigrant Jews in their new home.

Skilled laborers were the second largest group, numbering 395,823 immigrants and comprising 36.8 per cent of the total. Next in order was the group classed as "miscellaneous", with 186,989 immigrants, representing 17.4

¹ Cf. table LI, p. 186.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 127-128.

per cent of the total. This group included common and farm laborers, servants, merchants and dealers, *etc.* In professional occupations there were 7,455 immigrants, comprising 7 per cent of the total.

Omitting the "no occupation" group, and considering the 590,267 Jewish immigrants reporting occupations, we find that of these the great majority—67.1 per cent—were skilled laborers.¹ Laborers numbered 69,444 and comprised 11.8 per cent. Next in order of numbers were servants, 65,532, who comprised 11.1 per cent. A much smaller group was that composed of merchants and dealers (chiefly petty merchants, hucksters, and peddlers), who numbered 31,491 and were 5.3 per cent of the total. Of farm laborers there were 11,460, comprising 1.9 per cent. The entire professional class comprised 1.3 per cent of the total. There were 1,000 farmers, who comprised .2 per cent.

In the professional classes the teachers were the largest group, represented by 2,192, and comprising 29.4 per cent.² The next class were the musicians, who numbered 1,624, comprising 21.8 per cent of the total. Together these two groups were more than half of the total.

Thus, by far the most important occupational group was that of the skilled laborers.³ An examination of the distribution of this group shows that they were represented in thirty-five trades. By far the largest group of the skilled laborers were the tailors, numbering 145,272, and comprising 36.6 per cent. The dressmakers and seamstresses numbered 39,482, and comprised one-tenth of the total. Including the closely allied trades such as hat and cap makers, milliners, *etc.*, the garment workers composed practically one-half of the entire body of skilled laborers. Second in rank were the carpenters and joiners, who, together with the

¹ Cf. table LII, p. 187.

² Cf. table LIII, p. 187.

³ Cf. table LIV, p. 188.

cabinet makers and woodworkers (not specified) numbered 40,901, and comprised more than one-tenth of the total. The fourth highest group were the shoemakers, with 23,519, or 5.9 per cent of the total. Clerks and accountants, and painters and glaziers contributed an almost equal number—the former 17,066, the latter 16,387—representing 4.3 per cent and 4.1 per cent respectively of the total. Of butchers there were 11,413, or 2.9 per cent, and of bakers 10,925, or 2.8 per cent. There were also 9,385 locksmiths, or 2.4 per cent, and 8,517 blacksmiths, or 2.2 per cent. Together, these ten groups comprised 318,104, or 80.4 per cent of the Jews in skilled occupations.

Another skilled occupation represented by more than 5,000 was tinnern. Trade groups of more than 3,000 were watch and clock makers, tobacco workers, hat and cap makers, barbers and hairdressers, weavers and spinners, tanners and curriers, furriers and fur workers, and bookbinders. More than a thousand skilled laborers were found in the following trades: photographers and upholsterers, mechanics (not specified), masons, printers, saddlers and harness makers, milliners, metal workers (other than iron, steel and tin), machinists, jewelers and millers. Less than a thousand laborers were found in two groups: iron and steel workers, and textile workers (not specified).

The Jewish immigrants were therefore concentrated in the two groups of "no occupation" and "skilled laborers", to which belonged more than four-fifths of the total number.

In the part taken by the Jewish immigrants in the occupational distribution of the total immigrants from 1899 to 1909, these two groups are prominent.¹ To the 1,247,674 skilled laborers, the Jewish immigrants con-

¹ Cf. table LV, p. 189.

tributed 362,936, or 29.1 per cent. This was more than twice the proportion of the Jewish immigrants in the total number of immigrants. They were also represented in the "no occupation" group by more than one and one-half times their proportion of the total immigration, contributing to a total of 2,165,287 immigrants, 445,728, or 20.6 per cent. In striking contrast with the great contribution to these two classes is their insignificant contributions to the groups of common laborers and farmers, and farm laborers, to which they contributed respectively 2.9 per cent, 1.1 per cent, and 0.1 per cent.

It is, however, in comparison with the occupational grouping of the other races that the peculiarities of the distribution of the Jewish immigrants are most clearly seen.¹ An examination of the number of those classed as having "no occupation" of each European immigrant people and the percentage this group comprised of the total immigration of each people, shows that the Jews have the highest proportion, 45.1 per cent, of all immigrants belonging to this group. The Bohemians and Moravians are next in order, with 39.5 per cent. The absolute numbers of the Jews belonging to this group are also higher than those of any other people. The Italians have only 440,274 immigrants in the "no occupation" group, as compared with the 484,175 Jewish immigrants in this group. Even more striking is the contrast with the Poles, who have only 200,634 immigrants belonging to this group. This corresponds closely with similar facts as to the relative proportions of females and children found in the Jewish immigration and among the other immigrant races.

An even greater contrast exists in the proportions of skilled laborers between the Jewish and the other immi-

¹ Cf. table LVI, p. 189.

grant peoples.¹ Of those reporting occupations the Jews have, by far, the highest proportion of those in skilled occupations. The nearest approach to their proportion of skilled laborers is found among the Scotch, with 57.9 per cent. The next in order are the English, with 48.7 per cent. A much smaller proportion is found among the Bohemians and Moravians and the Germans. All these races contribute not only much smaller proportions than the Jews, but very much smaller absolute numbers to the total body of skilled laborers.

Of laborers (including farm laborers), the Jews, on the other hand, have a smaller proportion, 13.7 per cent, than any people, except the Scotch (who resemble the Jews most strongly in their high proportion of skilled laborers and their low proportion of common laborers).

The most striking contrast, in occupational distribution, however, is presented with the Slavic peoples.² Of those reporting occupations, the Slavic peoples, with the exception of the Bohemians and Moravians, are seen to be overwhelmingly concentrated in the two related groups of common and farm laborers, whereas the Jews are mostly to be found in the group of skilled laborers. Relatively ten times as many Jews as Poles, for instance, are in the skilled occupations.

That the Jews form a striking exception in their occupational grouping is evident. A comparison of the occupational distribution of the "old" and the "new" immigrants with that of the Jewish immigrants, from 1899 to 1909, leads to the same conclusion.³ The Jewish immigrants have twice as many in the "no occupation" group as the "new" immigrants, and a much higher percentage than the "old" immigrants. They have relatively four

¹ Cf. table LVII, p. 190.

² Cf. table LVIII, p. 191.

³ Cf. table LIX, p. 191.

times as many skilled laborers as the "new" immigrants, and more than one and one-half times as many as the "old" immigrants. Most remarkable is the fact that in spite of the relatively great proportion of women among the Jewish immigrants, they have a smaller proportion of servants than the "new" immigrants and one-third as large a proportion as the "old" immigrants. This indicates that the Jewish women are, as a rule, not servants, but either do not engage in work, or, if they do, are employed in skilled occupations. The latter group is, however, relatively inconspicuous.

In professional occupations the Jews occupy an intermediate position between the "old" and the "new" immigrants. In common and farm laborers, the Jews have an exceedingly low proportion as compared with the "old" and a strikingly low proportion as compared with the "new" immigrants.

Some distinctive traits in the occupational grouping of the Jewish immigrants have become evident. They are apart from all the other immigrant peoples in the great number of those having "no occupation". In other words, the Jewish immigrants are burdened with a far greater number of dependents than any other immigrant people, standing apart in this respect from the peoples of the "old" immigration and to a far greater extent from the peoples of the "new" immigration. Secondly, the Jewish immigrants are distinguished by a far greater proportion of skilled laborers. In this respect again they exceed even the peoples of the "old" immigration. The fact that the skilled laborers are more largely represented among the Jewish immigrants than they are in the occupations of the Jews in the countries of Eastern Europe is significant as showing an unusual pressure upon these classes abroad.

CHAPTER IV

ILLITERACY

THE rate of illiteracy has been generally used as a rough standard for estimating the mental equipment of the immigrants. A consideration of the rate of illiteracy among the Jewish immigrants dispels the popular impression that practically every Jew is able to read and write.¹ Out of a total entered this country from 1899 to 1910, 209,507, or 26 per cent of 806,786 Jews fourteen years of age and over who entered, were unable to read and write. As the average rate of illiteracy among all the immigrants, from 1899 to 1910, was 26.7 per cent, the rate of Jewish illiteracy is seen to be only slightly below the average.

A number of considerations enter. One of these is the influence of sex. It is generally recognized that, as a rule, females are more usually unlettered than males. This difference of illiteracy between the sexes is also more pronounced in countries where popular education is less widely spread than in those where it is the rule. Such is the case with the countries of Eastern Europe, which are the source of the recent Jewish immigration. The contrast between male and female illiteracy is strongest among the East-European Jews, who neglect the education of their daughters as much as they strive to educate their sons. This is reflected in the relative illiteracy of males and females among the Jewish immigrants.² Of the 172,718 Jewish males fourteen years of age and over

¹ Cf. table LX, p. 192.

² Cf. table LXI, p. 192.

entering this country from 1908 to 1912, 33,970, or 19.7 per cent, were illiterates. Of the 139,283 females fourteen years of age and over, 51,303, or 36.8 per cent, were illiterates. The illiteracy of Jewish females is thus almost twice as high as that of Jewish males. As the proportion of females in the Jewish immigration is so large, the influence of the sex factor in increasing the rate of illiteracy among the Jewish immigrants is considerable. A tendency from a lower to a higher rate of illiteracy is discernible. The average rate for the first six years was 23.8 per cent, that for the last six years was 27.2 per cent. This corresponds with the increase in the latter years in the proportion of females in the Jewish immigration, which has been previously noted.

A comparison of the rate of illiteracy of the Jewish immigrants with that of the other immigrant peoples shows that the Jews occupy an intermediate position.¹ They have a relatively high rate of illiteracy, as compared with the peoples from Northern and Western Europe. In comparison with the Slavs, their rate of illiteracy is also much higher than that of the Bohemians and Moravians, and, higher also, though to a far less degree, than that of the Slovaks.

The relative position of the Jews is clearly shown in a comparison of their rate of illiteracy from 1899 to 1910 with that for the same period of the "old" and the "new" immigration (from the latter of which the Jews are excepted.)² The rate of illiteracy of the "old" immigration is 2.5 per cent, that of the "new" immigration (Jews excepted) is 37.2 per cent, that of the Jews is 25.7 per cent. The Jews occupy a middle ground, yet near enough to the "new" immigration to be classed with it in this respect.

¹ Cf. table LXII, p. 193.

² Cf. table LXIII, p. 194.

The conclusion reached in the first part that the educational standing of the Jews is higher than that of the peoples in Eastern Europe among whom they live is reflected in the greater relative literacy of their immigrants.¹ The rate of illiteracy of the Jewish immigrants is lower than that of the peoples among whom the Jews are found. In the case of the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians the difference is considerable. This is seen to hold true for each sex.² The illiterates among the Jewish males constituted 21.9 per cent of the total number of Jewish males. The illiterates among the Jewish females constituted 40.0 per cent of the total number of Jewish females. In both sexes, the proportion of illiterates was lower than that prevailing among the other immigrant peoples.

Here, again, the fact is noticeable of a wider difference in the case of the Jews between the illiteracy of their males and females than exists among any of the other peoples. Owing to the fact that the Jews have in their immigration a notably higher proportion of females than any of these peoples, the difference between their rate of illiteracy and that of these peoples is lessened to some extent.

That the illiteracy of the Jews is due chiefly to their exceptional status in Russia and Roumania, our review of the conditions affecting Jewish education in those countries has shown. No more striking illustration exists of the fact that the literacy of the Jews is conditioned by their freedom than the degree in which they are taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered in this country, remarkable testimony to which is presented in the reports of the recent Immigration Commission.

¹ Cf. table LXIV, p. 194.

² Cf. table LXV, p. 194.

CHAPTER V

DESTINATION

THE destination, or intended future residence, of immigrants is influenced by certain considerations, such as the place of residence of friends or relatives, the port arrived at, and the funds at the disposal of the immigrants.

The most important influence is that exercised by the occupations of the immigrants. The preponderance of the industrially skilled and commercial groups among the Jewish immigrants makes for residence in the industrial and commercial centers. The great majority of the Jewish immigrants arriving from 1899 to 1910 were destined for the eastern states.¹ Of the total number of Jewish immigrants from 1889 to 1910, 923,549 immigrants, or 86 per cent, gave the North Atlantic States as their destination and 110,998 immigrants, or 10.3 per cent, the North Central States. Less than one-twentieth gave all the other divisions as their destination.

A great proportion of the Jewish immigrants, numbering 690,296, or 64.2 per cent of the total, gave New York as their destination.² Pennsylvania was the destination of the next largest number of immigrants, 108,534, constituting 10.1 per cent of the total. For Massachusetts there were destined 66,023 immigrants, or 6.1 per cent of the total. Four-fifths of the total number of immigrants were destined for these three states. Other eastern states receiving a large number of immigrants were New Jersey, for which

¹ Cf. table LXVI, p. 195.

² Cf. table LXVII, p. 195.

34,279 were destined, and Connecticut, for which 16,254 immigrants were destined. Of the North Central States, Illinois was the destination of the largest number, 50,931 immigrants, constituting 4.7 per cent of the total. Ohio was the destination of the next largest number, 20,531 immigrants, or 1.9 per cent of the total. One state in the South Central division, Maryland, was given as the destination of 18,700 immigrants, constituting 1.7 per cent of the total, and the largest number of those destined for this division. The tendency of the Jewish immigrants towards industrial and commercial centers is here reflected.

The destination of the Jewish immigrants to the eastern states agrees with that of the total immigration for the same period.¹ A larger proportion of the Jewish immigrants than of the total immigrants was destined for the North Atlantic States, which contain the commercial and manufacturing centers. Less than one-half as many Jewish immigrants as total immigrants were destined for the North Central States. About an equal proportion of each was destined for the South Atlantic States. A much smaller proportion of the Jewish than of the total was destined for the Western States. In view of the industrial equipment of the Jewish immigrants discussed previously, this tendency is explained.

The Jewish immigrants destined for the eastern states play a correspondingly large part among the total number destined for these states.² The Jewish immigrants destined for the North Atlantic States were 14.5 per cent of all the immigrants destined for this division. Their next highest proportion was of those destined for the South Central States, of which they constituted 9.9 per cent. They constituted an almost equal proportion of the immigrants des-

¹ *Cf.* table LXVIII, p. 196.

² *Cf.* table LXIX, p. 196.

tined for the North Central and the South Central States, 5.2 per cent, and 5.0 per cent, respectively. Of the immigrants destined for the Western States they constituted only 1.2 per cent.

The final destination of the immigrants very frequently is different from the destination stated at the time of landing. An examination of the disposition of Jewish immigrants landing at the port of New York from 1886 to 1906 showed that a large part of the immigrants left within a very short time for other parts.¹ Of the 918,388 immigrants that landed at the port of New York, from 1886 to 1906, 669,453, or 72.9 per cent, remained in New York, and 248,935, or 27.1 per cent, left for other points.

¹ *Cf.* reports of the United Hebrew Charities of New York City, 1886 to 1906.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SOME of the principal characteristics of the Jewish immigration to the United States have been presented in the preceding pages. The Jewish immigration has been shown to consist essentially of permanent settlers. Its family movement is incomparable in degree, and contains a larger relative proportion as well as absolute number of women and children, than any other immigrant people. This in turn is reflected in the greater relative proportion as well as absolute number of those classified as having "no occupation". The element of dependency thus predicated is another indication of the family composition of the Jewish immigration. Its return movement is the smallest of any, as compared both with its large immigration and the number of total emigrants. The Jewish immigrants are distinguished as well by a larger relative proportion and absolute number of skilled laborers, than any other immigrant people. In these four primary characteristics the Jewish immigrants stand apart from all the others.

It is with the neighboring Slavic races emigrating from the countries of Eastern Europe and with whom the Jewish immigrants are closely associated that the contrasts, in all these respects, are strongest. The Slavic immigrants are chiefly male adults. Their movement is largely composed of transients, as evidenced by a relatively large outward movement and emphasized by the fact that the vast majority

of them are unskilled laborers. An exception, in large measure, must be made of the Bohemian and Moravian immigrants who present characteristics strongly similar to those of the Jewish immigrants.

The division into "old" and "new" immigration brings out even more clearly the exceptional position of the Jews in regard to these characteristics. Although the Jewish immigration has been contemporaneous with the "new" immigration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and is furthermore essentially East-European in origin, its characteristics place it altogether with the "old" immigration.¹ Most striking, however is the fact that in all of these respects—family composition, and small return movement (both indicating permanent settlement) and in the proportion of skilled laborers—the Jewish immigration stands apart even from the "old" immigration.

Further confirmation may be obtained, in the study of the characteristics of the Jewish immigration, of the principle established in the preceding sections that the rejective forces of governmental oppression are responsible for the largest part of this immigration. The large family movement of the Jewish immigration is a symptom of abnormal conditions and amounts almost to a reversal of the normal immigration, in which single or married men without families predominate. Even the family movement of the "old" immigrants may largely be attributed to the longer residence of their peoples in the United States as well as to their greater familiarity with the conditions and customs of the United States. That so large a part of the Jewish immigrants is composed of de-

¹So strongly was this the case that the Immigration Commission in discussing these characteristics was compelled to separate the Jewish from the "new" immigration, in order to bring out the essential differences of the latter from the "old" immigration.

pendent females and children creates a situation of economic disadvantage for the Jewish immigrants, all the stronger because of their relative unfamiliarity with the language or the conditions facing them in this country.

Again, the Jews respond slowly and incompletely to the pressure of unfavorable economic conditions in this country. This was emphasized by the almost complete lack of response to the panic of 1907, as well as expressed in the small, practically unchanging return movement of the Jews to their European homes.

The pressure upon the Jewish artisans, or skilled laborers, in Eastern Europe is reflected in the predominance of this class among the Jewish immigrants to this country. That so useful an element in Eastern Europe with its still relatively backward industrial development—a fact that was given express recognition by the permission accorded the Jewish artisans in Alexander II's time to live in the interior of Russia—should have been compelled to emigrate indicates that the voyage across the Atlantic was easier for them than the trip into the interior of Russia, access to which is still legally accorded to them.

That the oppressive conditions created particularly in Russia and Roumania and operating as a pressure equivalent to an expulsive force does not explain the entire Jewish immigration to this country is evident from the preceding pages. In a great measure, the immigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary is an economic movement. The existence, however, of a certain degree of pressure created by economic and political antisemitism has however been recognized. The Jewish movement from Austria-Hungary shares largely with the movement from Russia and Roumania the social and economic characteristics of the Jewish immigration which we have described. A strong family movement and a relative permanence of settlement, espec-

ially as compared with the Poles, and a movement of skilled laborers must be predicated of the Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary, though undoubtedly not to the same degree as in the case of the Jewish movements from Russia and Roumania.

It is also clear that the forces of economic attraction in the United States do not play an altogether passive part in the Jewish immigration. The very fact of an immigrant-nucleus formed in this country and serving as a center of attraction to relatives and friends abroad—a force which increases in direct and multiple proportion to the growth of immigration—is an active and positive force in strengthening the immigration current. This was early understood by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* which had acted upon this principle in the seventies and had prophetically sought to direct a healthy movement of Jewish immigrants to this country in the hope of thereby laying a foundation for future Jewish immigration to this country. This current, however, once started and growing only by the force of its increasing attraction, would reflect in its movement almost wholly the economic conditions in this country. That so large a part of the Jewish immigration, and so many of the phenomena peculiar to it, find their explanation, for the largest part of the thirty years, in the situation and the course of events in the countries of Eastern Europe leads to the inevitable conclusion that the key to the Jewish immigration is to be found not in the force of economic attraction exercised in the United States but rather in the exceptional economic, social and legal conditions in Eastern Europe which have been created as a result of governmental persecution.

Reviewing the various phases of the history of Jewish immigration for these thirty years, we are enabled to see more closely its nature. The study of the immigration, its

movement and its social and economic characteristics, in comparison with those of other immigrant peoples, has revealed in it a number of distinguishing traits. In the causes of the emigration of the Jews, in the pressure exerted upon their movement as reflected in their rate of immigration, in their family movement, in the permanence of their settlement, and in their occupational distribution have been found characteristics which mark them off from the rest of the immigrant peoples. The number of these characteristics and the degree in which they are found in the Jewish immigration, put it in a class by itself.

The facts of governmental pressure amounting to an expulsive force, and reflected in an extraordinary rate of immigration, in a movement of families unsurpassed in the American immigration, the largest part economically dependent, in an occupational grouping of skilled artisans, able to earn their livelihood under normal conditions, and in a permanence of settlement in this country incomparable in degree and indicating that practically all who come stay—all these facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that in the Jewish movement we are dealing, not with an immigration, but with a migration. What we are witnessing to-day and for these thirty years, is a Jewish migration of a kind and degree almost without a parallel in the history of the Jewish people. When speaking of the beginnings of Russian Jewish immigration to Philadelphia, David Sulzberger said: "In thirty years the movement of Jews from Russia to the United States has almost reached the dignity of the migration of a people," he used no literary phrase. In view of the facts that have developed, this statement is true without any qualification.

This migration-process explains the remarkable growth of the Jewish population in the United States, within a relatively short period of time. In this transplantation, the

spirit of social solidarity and communal responsibility prevalent among the Jews has played a vital part.

The family rather than the individual thus becomes the unit for the social life of the Jewish immigrant population in the United States. In this respect the latter approaches more nearly the native American population than does the foreign white or immigrant population. One of the greatest evils incident to and characteristic of the general immigration to this country is thereby minimized.

Again, the concentration of the Jewish immigrants in certain trades explains in great measure the peculiarities of the occupational and the urban distribution of the Jews in the United States. The development of the garment trades through Jewish agencies is largely explained by the recruiting of the material for this development through these laborers.

These primary characteristics of the Jewish immigration of the last thirty years will serve to explain some of the most important phases of the economic and social life of the Jews in the United States, three-fourths of whom are immigrants of this period.

Of all the features of this historic movement of the Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States, not the least interesting is their passing from civilizations whose bonds with their medieval past are still strong to a civilization which began its course unhampered by tradition and unyoked to the forms and institutions of the past. The contrast between the broad freedom of this democracy and the intolerable despotism from whose yoke most of them fled, has given them a sense of appreciation of American political and social institutions that is felt in every movement of their mental life.

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE I A

PARTICIPATION OF JEWS IN OCCUPATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1897¹

Group of occupation	Total	Jews	Per cent of total
Agricultural pursuits	18245287	40611	.2
Professional service	988813	71950	7.5
Personal service ²	5150012	277466	5.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	5169919	542563	10.5
Transportation	714745	45944	6.4
Commerce ²	1256330	452193	36.0
Total	31525106	1430727	4.5

¹ Compiled from Rubinow, p. 500.

² Cf. Rubinow, note, p. 500.

TABLE I B

PARTICIPATION OF JEWS IN OCCUPATIONS IN THE PALE OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT, 1897¹

Group of occupation	Total	Jews	Per cent of total
Agricultural pursuits	6071413	38538	.6
Professional service	317710	67238	21.1
Personal service ²	2139981	250078	11.6
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	1573519	504844	32.1
Transportation	211983	44177	20.8
Commerce ²	556086	426628	76.7
Total	10870692	1331503	12.2

¹ Compiled from Rubinow, p. 501.

² Cf. Rubinow, note, p. 500.

TABLE II

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT THE PORTS OF NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE, JULY TO JUNE, 1886 to 1898¹

Year	New York	Philadelphia	Baltimore	Total
1886	19548	1625	. .	21173
1887	30866	2178	. .	33044
1888	26946	1935	. .	28881
1889	23958	1394	. .	25352
1890	26963	1676	. .	28639
1891	47098	2719	1581 ²	51398
1892	66544	4677	5152	76373
1893	29059	4322 ³	1941	35322
1894	23444	3833	1902	29179
1895	21422	3672	1097	26191
1896	27846	3016	1986	32848
1897	17362	1613	1397	20372
1898	19222	2121	2311	23654
Total	380278	34781	17367	432426

*NY is more
part of
country*

¹ Table II and all succeeding tables are arranged from July 1st to June 30th, the fiscal year.

² Baltimore statistics begin October. ³ Philadelphia figures for August missing.

TABLE III

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK, JULY, 1885, TO JUNE, 1886, BY MONTH AND COUNTRY OF NATIVITY¹

Month	Russia	Austria-Hungary	Roumania	Others	Total
July	1130	354	58	107	1649
August	1512	448	33	121	2114
September	945	185	20	119	1269
October	785	236	12	216	1249
November	1347	589	21	80	2037
December	574	249	17	62	902
January	565	202	4	26	797
February	492	228	16	44	780
March	1077	444	35	66	1622
April	639	309	28	55	1031
May	791	521	31	70	1413
June	3017	1365	210	93	4685
Total	12874	5130	485	1059	19548

¹ Compiled from reports of the United Hebrew Charities of New York.

TABLE IV A

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1886 TO 1898,
BY COUNTRY OF NATIVITY

Year	Russia	Per cent	Austria-Hungary	Per cent	Roumania	Per cent	Others	Per cent	Total
1886	1218	75	196	12	33	2	178	11	1625
1887	1699	78	262	12	86	4	131	6	2178
1888	1432	74	232	12	97	5	174	9	1935
1889	1129	81	125	9	42	3	98	7	1394
1890	1424	85	184	11	34	2	34	2	1676
1891	2447	90	1	.	1	.	272	10	2719
1892	3929	84	561	12	47	1	140	3	4677
1893	3025	70	519	12	43	1	735	17	4322
1894	2951	77	422	11	77	2	383	10	3833
1895	1983	54	624	17	73	2	992	27	3672
1896	1538	51	875	29	60	2	543	18	3016
1897	1049	65	355	22	32	2	177	11	1613
1898	1611	76	382	18	64	3	64	3	2121
Total . . .	25435	73	4737	14	688	2	3921	11	34781

¹ Immigrants from Austria-Hungary and Roumania were this year grouped under "all others" in the original tables.

TABLE IV B

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT THE PORT OF BALTIMORE, 1891 TO 1898,
BY COUNTRY OF NATIVITY

Year	Russia	Per cent	Austria-Hungary	Per cent	Roumania	Per cent	Others	Per cent	Total
1891	1423	90	1	.	1	.	158	10	1581
1892	4328	84	618	12	52	1	154	3	5152
1893	1388	70	232	12	19	1	302	17	1941
1894	1465	77	209	11	38	2	190	10	1902
1895	592	54	187	17	22	2	296	27	1097
1896	1013	51	576	29	40	2	357	18	1986
1897	908	65	307	22	28	2	154	11	1397
1898	1757	76	416	18	69	3	69	3	2311
Total . . .	12874	74	2545	15	268	2	1680	9	17367

¹ Immigrants from Austria-Hungary and Roumania were this year grouped under "all others" in the original tables.

TABLE V¹

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AT THE PORTS OF NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE, 1886 TO 1898, BY COUNTRY OF NATIVITY

Year	Country of nativity	Ports			Total
		New York	Phila- delphia	Baltimore	
1886.	Russia	12874	1218	. .	14092
	Austria-Hungary	5130	196	. .	5326
	Roumania.	485	33	. .	518
1887.	Russia	21404	1699	. .	23103
	Austria-Hungary	6636	262	. .	6898
	Roumania.	1977	86	. .	2063
1888.	Russia	18784	1432	. .	20216
	Austria-Hungary	5753	232	. .	5985
	Roumania.	1556	97	. .	1653
1889.	Russia	17209	1129	. .	18338
	Austria-Hungary	4873	125	. .	4998
	Roumania.	1016	42	. .	1058
1890.	Russia	19557	1424	. .	20981
	Austria-Hungary	6255	184	. .	6439
	Roumania.	428	34	. .	462
1891.	Russia	39587	2447	1423	43457
	Austria-Hungary	5890	1	1	5890
	Roumania.	854	1	1	854
1892.	Russia	55996	3929	4328	64253
	Austria-Hungary	7464	561	618	8643
	Roumania.	641	47	52	740
1893.	Russia	20748	3025	1388	25161
	Austria-Hungary	5612	519	232	6363
	Roumania.	493	43	19	555
1894.	Russia	16331	2951	1465	20747
	Austria-Hungary	5285	422	209	5916
	Roumania.	501	77	38	616
1895.	Russia	14152	1983	592	16727
	Austria-Hungary	5236	624	187	6047
	Roumania.	423	73	22	518
1896.	Russia	17617	1538	1013	20168
	Austria-Hungary	8380	875	576	9831
	Roumania.	644	60	40	744
1897.	Russia	11106	1049	908	13063
	Austria-Hungary	5010	355	307	5672
	Roumania.	456	32	28	516
1898.	Russia	11581	1611	1757	14949
	Austria-Hungary	6569	382	416	7367
	Roumania.	587	64	69	720
Total.	380278	34781	17367	432426

¹ See note to Tables IVA and IVB. For Tables VI and VII, see pp. 93 and 94.

TABLE VIII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1881 TO 1910, ABSOLUTE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES, BY DECADE AND COUNTRY OF NATIVITY

Country of nativity	Absolute numbers				Percentages		
	Total	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910
Russia	1119059	135003	279811	704245	69.9	71.1	72.1
Austria-Hungary	281150	44619	83720	152811	23.1	21.3	15.7
Roumania	67057	6967	12789	47301	3.6	3.2	4.8
United Kingdom	42589	.	.	42589	.	.	4.4
Germany	20454	5354	8827	6273	2.8	2.3	.7
British North America	9701	.	.	9701	.	.	1.0
Turkey	5081	.	.	5081	.	.	.5
France	2273	.	.	2273	.	.	.2
All others	15436	1078	8369	5989	.6	2.1	.6
Total	1562800	193021	393516	976263	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IX

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA, 1881 TO 1910, BY YEAR AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH YEAR

Year	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881	3125	0.3
1882	10489	0.9
1883	6144	0.5
1884	7867	0.7
1885	10648	1.0
1886	14092	1.3
1887	23103	2.1
1888	20216	1.8
1889	18338	1.6
1890	20981	1.9
1891	43457	3.9
1892	64253	5.7
1893	25161	2.2
1894	20747	1.9
1895	16727	1.5
1896	20168	1.8
1897	13063	1.2
1898	14949	1.3
1899	24275	2.2
1900	37011	3.3
1901	37660	3.4
1902	37846	3.4
1903	47689	4.3
1904	77544	6.9
1905	92388	8.2
1906	125234	11.2
1907	114932	10.3
1908	71978	6.4
1909	39150	3.5
1910	59824	5.3
Total	1119059	100.0

TABLE X

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA, 1881 to 1910, BY DECADE AND PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH DECADE

Decade	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	135003	12.1
1891-1900	279811	25.0
1901-1910	704245	62.9
Total	1119059	100.0

TABLE XI

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK, JANUARY 1, 1891
TO DECEMBER 31, 1891, AND JANUARY 1, 1892 TO DECEMBER 31, 1892,
BY MONTH

(From reports of United Hebrew Charities of New York City, 1891 and 1892)

Month	Jewish immigrants	
	1891	1892
January	2179	3276
February	2185	3057
March	3150	2307
April	2714	1468
May	1225	1620
June	8667	4028
July	8253	5673
August	9109	4842
September	9422	1729
October	5255	406
November	3792	121
December	4310	198
Total	60261	28834

TABLE XII

TOTAL IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA, 1881
TO 1910, AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881	5041	3125	Est.
1882	16918	10489 <i>program</i>	
1883	9909	6144	at
1884	12689	7867	
1885	17158	10648	62.0
1886	17800	14092	79.2
1887	30766	23103	75.1
1888	33487	20316	60.4
1889	33916	18338	54.1
1890	35598	20981	58.9
<i>X</i> 1891	47426	43457 <i>Armenian- Syrian</i>	91.6
1892	81511	64253	78.8
1893	42310	25161	59.5
1894	39278	20747	52.8
1895	35907	16727	43.2
1896	51435	20168	39.2
1897	25816	13063	50.6
1898	29828	14949	50.1
1899	60982	24275	39.8
1900	90787	37011	40.8
1901	85257	37660	44.2
1902	107347	37846	35.3
1903	136093	47689	35.0
1904	145141	77544	53.4
1905	184897	92388	50.0
1906	215665	125234	58.1 <i>Kishinev</i>
1907	258943	114932	44.4
1908	156711	71978	45.9
1909	120460	39150	32.5
1910	186792	59824	32.1
Total	2315868	1119059	48.3

TABLE XIII

TOTAL IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA, 1881
TO 1910, BY DECADE, AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Decade	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	213282	135003	63.3
1891-1900	505280	279811	55.4
1901-1910	1597306	704245	44.1
Total	2315868	1119059	48.3

TABLE XIV

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1899 TO 1910,
BY ANNUAL PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL PEOPLES¹

	Finnish	German	Jewish	Lithuanian	Polish	Russian
1899 . .	9.9	8.8	39.8	11.2	25.4	2.7
1900 . .	13.8	5.9	40.8	11.3	24.8	1.3
1901 . .	11.7	6.6	44.2	10.0	25.2	.8
1902 . .	12.9	8.0	35.3	9.3	31.5	1.4
1903 . .	13.8	7.7	35.0	10.6	29.1	2.6
1904 . .	6.9	4.9	53.4	8.8	22.4	2.7
1905 . .	9.0	3.6	50.0	9.5	25.5	1.8
1906 . .	6.2	4.8	58.1	6.4	21.4	2.4
1907 . .	5.5	5.2	44.4	9.6	28.2	6.2
1908 . .	4.0	6.4	45.9	8.5	24.2	10.4
1909 . .	9.3	6.5	32.5	12.1	31.4	7.6
1910 . .	8.0	5.4	32.1	11.6	34.1	7.9
Total .	8.5	5.8	43.8	9.6	27.0	4.4

¹ From Immigration Commission: *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 338.

TABLE XV

RATE OF IMMIGRATION OF PEOPLES PREDOMINANT IN THE IMMIGRATION FROM
RUSSIA, 1899 TO 1910¹

People	Population in Russia 1897 and in Finland 1900 combined	Average annual immi- gration to U. S. from Russia and Finland 1899-1910	Ratio of immigration to population
Jewish	5082343 ²	63794	1 to 79
Finnish	2352990	12348	1 to 191
Polish	7865437	39282	1 to 200
German	1721387	8401	1 to 205
Lithuanian	3077436	14062	1 to 212
Swedish	349733	1135	1 to 308
Russian	75434753	6530	1 to 11552

¹ Ibid., p. 339.

² The figure for the Jewish population in Russia as given in *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 339, is incorrect. See Goldberg, *Jüdische Statistik*, pages 266 and 270.

TABLE XVI

RATE OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA, PER 10000 OF JEWISH POPULATION,
1899 TO 1910

Year	Ratio of immigration	Year	Ratio of immigration
1899	47	1906	246
1900	72	1907	226
1901	74	1908	141
1902	74	1909	77
1903	93	1910	117
1904	152		
1905	181	Total	125

TABLE XVII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM ROUMANIA, 1881 TO 1910, BY DECADE AND
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH DECADE

Decade	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	6967	10.4
1891-1900	12789	19.1
1901-1910	47301	70.5
Total	67057	100.0

TABLE XVIII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM ROUMANIA, 1881 TO 1910, BY YEAR AND PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH YEAR

Year	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881	30	¹
1882	65	.1
1883	77	.1
1884	238	.3
1885	803	1.2
1886	518	.8
1887	2063	3.1
1888	1653	2.5
1889	1058	1.6
1890	462	.7
1891	854	1.3
1892	740	1.1
1893	555	.8
1894	616	.9
1895	518	.8
1896	744	1.1
1897	516	.8
1898	720	1.1
1899	1343	2.0
1900	6183	9.2
1901	6827	10.2
1902	6589	9.8
1903	8562	12.8
1904	6446	9.6
1905	3854	5.7
1906	3872	5.8
1907	3605	5.4
1908	4455	6.6
1909	1390	2.1
1910	1701	2.5
Total	67057	100.0

¹ Below one-tenth per cent.

TABLE XIX

TOTAL IMMIGRATION FROM ROUMANIA AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM ROUMANIA, 1899 TO 1910, AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Year	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1899	1606	1343	83.6
1900	6459	6183	95.7
1901	7155	6827	95.4
1902	7196	6589	91.6
1903	9310	8562	91.9
1904	7087	6446	91.0
1905	4437	3854	86.8
1906	4476	3872	86.5
1907	4384	3605	82.2
1908	5228	4455	85.2
1909	1590	1390	87.4
1910	2145	1701	79.3
Total	61073	54827	89.8

TABLE XX

RATE OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM ROUMANIA, PER 10000 OF JEWISH POPULATION, 1899 TO 1910¹

Year	Ratio of immigration	Year	Ratio of immigration
1899	51	1906	149
1900	238	1907	138
1901	262	1908	171
1902	253	1909	53
1903	329	1910	65
1904	246		
1905	148	Total	175

¹ For Jewish population in Roumania cf. Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day*, p. 39.

TABLE XXI

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1881 TO 1910, BY DECADE AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH DECADE

Decade	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	44619	15.9
1891-1900	83720	29.8
1901-1910	152811	54.3
Total	281150	100.0

TABLE XXII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1881 TO 1910, BY YEAR, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ARRIVING EACH YEAR

Year	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881	2537	.9
1882	2648	.9
1883	2510	.9
1884	3340	1.2
1885	3938	1.4
1886	5326	1.9
1887	6898	2.4
1888	5985	2.1
1889	4998	1.8
1890	6439	2.3
1891	5890	2.1
1892	8643	3.1
1893	6363	2.3
1894	5916	2.1
1895	6047	2.2
1896	9831	3.5
1897	5672	2.0
1898	7367	2.6
1899	11071	3.9
1900	16920	6.0
1901	13006	4.6
1902	12848	4.6
1903	18759	6.7
1904	20211	7.2
1905	17352	6.2
1906	14884	5.3
1907	18885	6.7
1908	15293	5.4
1909	8431	3.0
1910	13142	4.7
Total	281150	100.0

TABLE XXIII

TOTAL AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1881 TO 1910, BY
DECADE AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Decade	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	353719	44619	12.6
1891-1900	592707	83720	14.1
1901-1910	2145266	158811	7.4
Total	3091692	281150	9.1

note many come from Russia

TABLE XXIV

TOTAL AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1881 TO 1910, AND
PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Year	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881	27935	2537	Est.
1882	29150	2648	at
1883	27625	2510	
1884	36571	3340	9.0
1885	27309	3938	14.4
1886	28680	5326	18.6
1887	40265	6808	17.1
1888	45811	5985	13.1
1889	34174	4998	14.6
1890	56199	6439	11.5
1891	71042	5890	8.3
1892	76937	8643	11.2
1893	57420	6363	11.1
1894	38638	5916	15.3
1895	33401	6047	18.1
1896	65103	9831	15.1
1897	33031	5672	17.2
1898	39797	7367	18.5
1899	62491	11071	17.7
1900	114847	16920	14.7
1901	113390	13006	11.5
1902	171989	12848	7.5
1903	206011	18759	9.1
1904	177156	20211	11.4
1905	275693	17352	6.3
1906	265138	14884	5.6
1907	338452	18885	5.6
1908	168509	15293	9.1
1909	170191	8431	5.0
1910	258737	13142	5.1
Total	3091692	281150	9.1

TABLE XXV

PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY CONTRIBUTED BY
PRINCIPAL PEOPLES, 1899 TO 1910 ¹

Year	Polish	Jewish	Ruthenian
1899	18.7	17.7	2.2
1900	19.9	14.7	2.5
1901	17.9	11.5	4.7
1902	18.9	7.5	4.4
1903	18.2	9.1	4.8
1904	17.1	11.4	5.3
1905	18.4	6.3	5.2
1906	16.5	5.6	5.9
1907	17.6	5.6	7.0
1908	15.7	9.1	7.2
1909	21.4	5.0	9.0
1910	22.6	4.9	10.2
Total	18.6	7.8	6.2

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 373.

TABLE XXVI

RATE OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, PER 10000 OF JEWISH
POPULATION, 1899 TO 1910 ¹

	Ratio of immigration		Ratio of immigration
1899	53	1906	72
1900	83 ✓	1907	91 ✓
1901	63	1908	74
1902	62	1909	41
1903	90 ✓	1910	63
1904	97 ✓		
1905	84	Total	74

¹ For Jewish population in Austria-Hungary cf. Ruppin, *The Jews of To-Day*, pp. 38-39.

TABLE XXVII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1881 TO 1910, BY DECADE

Decade	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	193021	12.3
1891-1900	393516	25.2
1901-1910	976263	62.5
Total.....	1562800	100.0

TABLE XXVIII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1881 TO 1910, BY SIX-YEAR PERIOD

Period	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1886	77105	4.9
1887-1892	243687	15.6
1893-1898	167566	10.7
1899-1904	396404	25.4
1905-1910	678038	43.4
Total.....	1562800	100.0

TABLE XXIX

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1881 TO 1910

Year	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881.....	5692	.4
1882.....	13202	.8
1883.....	8731	.5
1884.....	11445	.7
1885.....	16862	1.1
1886.....	21173	1.3
1887.....	33044	2.1
1888.....	28881	1.8
1889.....	25352	1.6
1890.....	28639	1.8
1891.....	51398	3.3
1892.....	76373	4.9
1893.....	35322	2.3
1894.....	29179	1.9
1895.....	26191	1.7
1896.....	32848	2.1
1897.....	20372	1.3
1898.....	23654	1.5
1899.....	37415	2.4
1900.....	60764	3.9
1901.....	58008	3.7
1902.....	57688	3.7
1903.....	76203	4.9
1904.....	106236	6.8
1905.....	129910	8.3
1906.....	153748	9.9
1907.....	149182	9.6
1908.....	103387	6.6
1909.....	57551	3.7
1910.....	84260	5.4
Total.....	1562800	100.0

average 1172
 57551 in 1905
 1905-7

TABLE XXX

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1881 TO 1910, BY DECADE AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Decade	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890.....	5246613	193021	3.7
1891-1900.....	3687564	393516	10.7
1901-1910.....	8795386	976263	11.1
Total	17729563	1562800	8.8

TABLE XXXI

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1881 TO 1910, BY YEAR AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL

Year	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881.....	669431	5692	.9
1882.....	788992	13202	1.7
1883.....	603322	8731	1.4
1884.....	518592	11445	2.2
1885.....	395346	16862	4.3
1886.....	334203	21173	6.3
1887.....	490109	33044	6.7
1888.....	546889	28881	5.3
1889.....	444427	25352	5.7
1890.....	455302	28639	6.3
1891.....	560319	51398	9.2
1892.....	579663	76373	13.2
1893.....	439730	35322	8.0
1894.....	285631	29179	10.2
1895.....	258536	26191	10.1
1896.....	343267	32848	9.6
1897.....	20832	20372	8.8
1898.....	229299	23654	10.7
1899.....	311715	37415	12.0
1900.....	448572	60764	13.5
1901.....	487918	58008	12.1
1902.....	648743	57688	8.9
1903.....	857046	76203	8.9
1904.....	812870	106236	11.8
1905.....	1026499	129910	12.6
1906.....	1100735	153748	13.4
1907.....	1285349	149182	11.6
1908 ¹	782870	103387	13.2
1909.....	751786	57551	7.7
1910 ¹	1041570	84260	8.1
Total	17729563	1562800	8.8

¹ Only immigrant aliens taken these years.

TABLE XXXII

TOTAL AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1881 TO 1910, BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
OF INCREASE OR DECREASE

Year	Total immigrants		Jewish immigrants	
	Increase (+) or decrease (—)		Increase (+) or decrease (—)	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1881
1882	+110561	+17.9	+ 7509	+131.9
1883	—185670	—23.5	— 4471	— 33.9
1884	— 84730	—14.0	+ 2714	+ 31.1
1885	—123246	—23.8	+ 5417	+ 47.3
1886	— 61143	—15.5	+ 4491	+ 26.7
1887	+155906	+46.7	+11871	+56.1
1888	+ 56780	+11.6	+ 4163	+ 12.6
1889	—102462	—18.7	— 3529	— 12.2
1890	+ 10875	+ 2.4	+ 3287	+ 13.0
1891	+105017	+20.9	+22759	+ 79.5
1892	+ 19344	+ 3.4	+24975	+ 48.6
1893	—139933	—24.1	—39051	— 51.1
1894	—154099	—35.0	— 6143	— 17.4
1895	— 27095	— 9.5	— 2988	— 10.2
1896	+ 84731	+32.8	+ 6657	+ 25.4
1897	—112435	—32.8	—12476	— 38.0
1898	— 1533	— .7	+ 3282	+16.1
1899	+ 82416	+36.0	+13761	+ 58.2
1900	+136857	+43.9	+23349	+ 62.4
1901	+ 39346	+ 8.8	— 2666	— 4.4
1902	+160825	+33.0	— 410	— .7
1903	+208303	+32.1	+18515	+ 32.1
1904	— 44176	— 5.2	+30033	+ 39.4
1905	+213629	+26.3	+23674	+ 22.1
1906	+ 74236	+ 7.2	+23838	+ 18.2
1907	+184614	+16.8	— 4566	— 3.0
1908	—502479	—39.1	—45795	—30.7
1909	— 31084	— 4.0	—45836	—44.3
1910	+289784	+38.5	+26709	+ 46.4

1894-89
immigrants

1898-1900
immigrants

1903-1906
immigrants

TABLE XXXIII

SEX OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910¹

Year	Total	Number		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1899.....	37415	21153	16262	56.5	43.5
1900.....	60764	36330	24434	59.8	40.2
1901.....	58098	32345	25753	55.7	44.3
1902.....	57688	32737	24951	56.7	44.3
1903.....	76203	43985	32218	57.7	42.3
1904.....	106236	65040	41196	61.2	38.8
1905.....	129910	82076	47834	63.2	36.8
1906.....	153748	80086	73662	52.1	47.9
1907.....	149182	80550	68652	54.0	46.0
1908.....	103387	56277	47110	54.4	45.6
1909.....	57551	31057	26494	54.0	46.0
1910.....	84260	46206	38054	54.8	45.2
Total.....	1074442	607822	466620	56.6	43.4

¹ From Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE XXXIV

SEX OF JEWISH IMMIGRANT ADULTS¹ AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK, 1886 TO 1898²

Year	Total	Number		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1886.....	14212	9598	4614	67.5	32.5
1887.....	22223	13872	8351	62.4	37.6
1888.....	19456	11691	7765	60.1	39.9
1889.....	17155	9946	7209	58.0	42.0
1890.....	19449	11524	7925	59.3	40.7
1891.....	33343	20980	12363	62.9	37.1
1892.....	43155	25338	17817	58.7	41.3
1893.....	18314	9715	8599	53.0	47.0
1894.....	13142	6404	6738	48.7	51.3
1895.....	12366	6275	6091	50.7	49.3
1896.....	17052	9703	7349	56.9	43.1
1897.....	10226	5447	4779	53.3	46.7
1898.....	11530	6560	4970	56.9	43.1
Total.....	251623	147053	104570	58.4	41.6

¹ Sixteen years of age and over.² From Reports of United Hebrew Charities of N. Y. City.

TABLE XXXV

AGE OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910¹

Year	Total	Number			Percentage		
		Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
1899....	37415	8987	26019	2409	24.0	69.5	6.5
1900....	60764	13092	44239	3433	21.6	72.8	5.6
1901....	58098	14731	39830	3537	25.4	68.6	6.0
1902....	57688	15312	38937	3439	26.5	67.5	6.0
1903....	76203	19044	53074	4085	25.0	69.6	5.4
1904....	106236	23529	77224	5483	22.1	72.7	5.2
1905....	129910	28553	95964	5393	22.0	73.9	4.1
1906....	153748	43620	101875	8253	28.4	66.2	5.4
1907....	149182	37696	103779	7707	25.3	69.5	5.2
1908....	103387	26013	71388	5986	25.1	69.1	5.8
1909....	57551	15210	38465	3876	26.5	66.7	6.8
1910...	84260	21869	57191	5200	26.0	67.9	6.1
Total.	1074442	267656	747985	58801	24.9	69.6	5.5

¹ From Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE XXXVI

AGE OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK, 1886 TO 1898¹

Year	Total	Number		Percentage	
		Adults	Children ²	Adults	Children ²
1886.....	19548	14212	5336	72.7	27.3
1887.....	30866	22223	8643	72.0	28.0
1888.....	26946	19456	7490	72.2	27.8
1889.....	23958	17155	6803	71.6	28.4
1890.....	26963	19449	7514	72.1	27.9
1891.....	47008	33343	13755	70.8	29.2
1892.....	66544	43155	23389	64.8	35.2
1893.....	29059	18314	10745	63.0	37.0
1894.....	23444	13142	10302	56.1	43.9
1895.....	21422	12366	9056	57.7	42.3
1896.....	27846	17052	10794	61.2	38.8
1897.....	17362	10226	7136	58.9	41.1
1898.....	19222	11530	7692	60.0	40.0
Total...	380278	251623	128655	66.2	33.8

¹ From Reports of United Hebrew Charities of N. Y. City.² Children under sixteen.

TABLE XXXVII

SEX OF TOTAL AND JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910¹

Year	Total immigrants		Jewish immigrants	
	Per cent		Per cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1899	62.6	37.4	56.5	43.5
1900	67.8	32.2	59.8	40.2
1901	67.9	32.1	55.7	44.3
1902	71.9	28.1	56.7	43.3
1903	71.5	28.5	57.7	42.3
1904	67.6	32.4	61.2	38.8
1905	70.6	29.4	63.2	36.8
1906	69.5	30.5	52.1	47.9
1907	72.4	27.6	54.0	46.0
1908	64.8	35.2	54.4	45.6
1909	69.2	30.8	54.0	46.0
1910	70.7	29.3	54.8	45.2
Total	69.5	30.5	56.6	43.4

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

- it will seem
that most of us
are married

TABLE XXXVIII

SEX¹ OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS,² 1899 TO 1910³

People	Total	Number		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Irish	439724	210686	229038	47.9	52.1
Jewish.	1074442	607822	466620	56.6	43.4
Bohemian and Moravian .	100189	57111	43078	57.0	43.0
French	115783	67217	48566	58.1	41.9
German	754375	448054	306321	59.4	40.6
English	408614	251421	157193	61.5	38.5
Scandinavian	586306	362467	223839	61.8	38.2
Scotch.	136842	86938	49904	63.5	36.5
Finnish	151774	100289	51485	66.1	33.9
Polish	949064	659267	289797	69.5	30.5
Slovak.	377527	266262	111265	70.5	29.5
Lithuanian.	175258	123777	51481	70.6	29.4
Magyar	338151	244221	93930	72.2	27.8
Ruthenian	147375	109614	37761	74.4	25.6
Italian North	372668	291877	80791	78.3	21.7
Italian South	1911933	1502968	408965	78.6	21.4
Croatian and Slovenian .	355543	284866	50677	84.9	15.1
Greek	216962	206306	10656	95.1	4.9
Total ⁴	9555673	6641367	2914306	69.5	30.5

¹ Arranged in order of percentage of females.² Excluding all races with an immigration below 100,000.³ From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 49.⁴ Total includes all races.

Just for
the 1899
and 1900
years
the
total
of
immigrants
is
29,143,066
all p.

TABLE XXXIX

AGE¹ OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS,² 1899 TO 1909.

People	Number				Per cent		
	Total	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Jewish	990182	245787	690794	53601	24.8	69.8	5.4
Bohemian and Moravian ...	91727	18965	67487	5275	20.7	73.6	5.8
German	682995	116416	520437	46142	17.0	70.2	6.8
Scotch	112230	17157	85123	9950	15.3	75.8	8.9
English	355116	52459	262334	40323	14.8	73.9	11.4
Italian, South. ...	1719260	201492	1416075	101693	11.7	82.4	5.9
Scandinavian ...	534269	51220	457306	25743	9.6	85.6	4.8
Polish	820716	77963	723226	19527	9.5	88.1	2.4
Slovak	345111	32157	302399	10555	9.3	87.6	3.1
Finnish	136038	12623	119771	3644	9.3	88.0	2.7
Italian, North. ...	341888	30645	297442	13801	9.0	87.0	4.0
Magyar	310049	27312	270376	12361	8.8	87.2	4.0
Lithuanian ...	152544	12004	137880	2660	7.9	90.4	1.7
Irish	401342	20247	363797	17298	5.0	90.6	4.3
Ruthenian ...	119468	5537	110705	3226	4.6	92.7	2.7
Croatian and Slovenian ...	295981	12711	273685	9585	4.3	92.5	3.2
Greek	177827	7314	168250	2263	4.1	94.6	1.3
Total ³	8213034	1013974	6786506	412554	12.3	82.6	5.0

¹ Arranged in order of highest percentage of children.² Excluding all races with an immigration below 100,000, except the Bohemian and Moravian.³ Total includes all European races.

TABLE XL

SEX,¹ 1899 TO 1910, AND AGE,² 1899 TO 1909, OF SLAVIC AND JEWISH IMMIGRANTS

Group	Sex—per cent		Age—per cent		
	Male	Female	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Polish	69.5	30.5	9.5	88.1	2.4
Ruthenian	74.4	25.6	4.6	92.7	2.7
Russian	85.0	15.0	7.5	90.0	2.5
Slovak	70.5	29.5	9.3	87.6	3.1
Croatian and Slovenian	84.9	15.1	4.3	92.5	3.2
Bohemian and Moravian	57.0	43.0	20.7	73.6	5.8
Jewish	56.6	43.4	24.8	69.8	5.4

¹ From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 49.

² From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 25.

TABLE XLI

A. SEX OF ROUMANIAN IMMIGRANTS,¹ 1899 TO 1910, AND OF IMMIGRANTS FROM ROUMANIA,² 1900 TO 1910

Group	Total	Number		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
From Roumania	59467	31968	27499	53.8	46.2
Roumanian ¹	82704	75238	7466	91.0	9.0

B. AGE OF JEWISH AND ROUMANIAN IMMIGRANTS³ 1899 TO 1909

Race	Total number	Number			Per cent		
		Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Jewish	990182	245787	690794	53601	24.8	69.8	5.4
Roumanian	68505	1476	63997	3032	2.2	93.4	4.4

¹ From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, pp. 44-48.

² From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

TABLE XLII

SEX AND AGE OF "OLD" AND "NEW" IMMIGRATION (JEWISH EXCEPTED),
AND OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1899 TO 1909¹

Group	Total	Sex—per cent		Age—per cent		
		Male	Female	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Old immigration ...	2273782	58.5	41.5	12.8	80.4	6.8
New immigration (Jewish excepted)	4949070	76.3	23.7	9.7	86.2	4.1
Jewish immigration.	990182	56.7	43.3	24.8	69.8	5.4

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, pp. 23-26.

TABLE XLIII

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, 1908 TO 1912¹

Year	Jewish immigrant aliens ²	Jewish emigrant aliens ³	Number departed per 100 admitted
1908	103387	7702	7
1909	57551	6105	10
1910	84260	5689	6
1911	91223	6401	7
1912	80595	7418	9
Total	417016	33315	8

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.² See note, page 93.³ Emigrant aliens are aliens whose permanent residence has been in the United States and who intend to reside permanently abroad.

TABLE XLIV

TOTAL AND JEWISH EMIGRANT ALIENS AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH IMMIGRANT ALIENS OF TOTAL IMMIGRANT ALIENS, 1908 TO 1912¹

Year	Emigrant aliens			Immigrant aliens		
	Total emigrant aliens	Jewish emigrant aliens	Per cent. Jewish of total	Total immigrant aliens	Jewish immigrant aliens	Per cent. Jewish of total
1908	381044	7702	2.0	782870	103387	13.2
1909	225802	6105	2.7	751876	57551	7.7
1910	202436	5689	2.8	1041570	84260	8.1
1911	295666	6401	2.1	878587	91223	10.4
1912	333262	7418	2.2	838172	80595	9.5
Total . .	1438210	33315	2.3	4293075	417016	9.7

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

TABLE XLV

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED¹ AND EUROPEAN EMIGRANT ALIENS DEPARTED, 1908, 1909 AND 1910²

People	Immigrant aliens admitted		Emigrant aliens departed		
	Number	Per cent of total admitted	Number	Per cent of total departed	Number departed for every 100 admitted
Jewish	236100	10.2	18543	2.5	8
Croatian and Slovenian . . .	78658	3.4	44316	5.2	56
English	101611	4.4	11152	1.5	11
German	192644	8.3	35823	5.0	19
Greek	86257	3.7	21196	2.9	25
Irish	93090	4.0	5728	.8	6
Italian, North. . .	77661	3.3	47870	6.7	62
Italian, South. . .	457414	19.8	255188	35.7	56
Lithuanian	51129	2.2	7185	1.0	14
Magyar	78910	3.4	50597	7.1	64
Polish	269646	11.7	82080	11.4	30
Ruthenian	55106	2.3	6681	.9	12
Scandinavian . . .	113786	4.8	11193	1.5	10
Slovak	70717	3.0	41383	5.8	59
Total ³	2297338		713356		32

¹ All peoples with an inward movement of less than 50,000 excluded.

² From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 41.

³ Total for all races, including Syrians.

TABLE XLVI

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, RUSSIA, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND ROUMANIA, 1908 TO 1912¹

Year	Russia			Austria-Hungary			Roumania		
	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number de- parted per 100 admitted	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number de- parted per 100 admitted	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number de- parted per 100 admitted
1908 . . .	71978	5439	7	15293	1758	11	4455	158	3
1909 . . .	39150	3989	10	8431	1398	16	1390	87	6
1910 . . .	59824	3295	5	13142	1409	10	1701	101	6
1911 . . .	65472	3375	5	12785	1827	14	2188	78	3
1912 . . .	58389	4448	7	10757	2121	19	1512	122	8
Total . .	294813	20546	7	60408	8513	14	11246	546	5

¹From Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE XLVII

POLISH IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1908 TO 1912¹

Year	Russian Poles			Austro-Hungarian Poles		
	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number de- parted per 100 admitted	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number de- parted per 100 admitted
1908	73122	18187	25	59719	28048	47
1909	37770	8421	22	336483	10292	28
1910	63635	6705	10	60565	9609	15
1911	40193	12276	30	27515	18499	67
1912	51244	14701	28	30649	22546	73
Total . . .	265964	60290	22	214931	88994	41

¹From Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

TABLE XLVIII

"OLD" AND "NEW" (JEWISH EXCEPTED) AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION
AND EMIGRATION, 1908 TO 1910¹

Class	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Number departed per 100 admitted
Old immigration.	599732	79664	13
New immigration (Jewish excepted)	1461506	615549	42
Jewish immigration	236100	18543	8
Total	2297338	713356	32

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 42.

TABLE XLIX

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT ALIENS,¹ 1907, AND EUROPEAN EMIGRANT
ALIENS, 1908²

People	Immigrant aliens, 1907		Emigrant aliens, 1908		
	Number	Per cent. of total	Number	Per cent. of total	Number departed per 100 admitted
Jewish	149182	12.1	7702	2.0	5
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin	27174	2.2	5965	1.6	22
Croatian and Slovenian . . .	47826	3.9	28584	7.5	60
English	51126	4.1	5320	1.4	10
German	92936	7.5	14418	3.8	15
Greek	46283	3.7	6763	1.8	14
Irish	38706	3.1	2441	.6	6
Italian, North.	51564	4.2	19507	5.1	37
Italian, South.	242497	19.6	147828	38.8	60
Lithuanian . . .	25884	2.1	3388	.9	13
Magyar	60071	4.9	29276	7.7	48
Polish	138033	11.2	46727	12.3	33
Scandinavian . .	53425	4.3	5801	1.5	11
Slovak	42041	3.4	23573	6.2	56
Total	1237341 ³		381044		32

¹ All peoples with an inward movement of less than 25,000 omitted.

² From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, pp. 39-40.

³ All European immigrants, including Syrians.

TABLE L

TOTAL EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED¹ AND TOTAL OF THOSE
 ADMITTED DURING THIS PERIOD IN THE UNITED STATES
 PREVIOUSLY, 1899 TO 1910²

People	Number admitted	In United States previously	
		Number	Per cent of admitted
Jewish	1074442	22914	2.1
Bohemian and Moravian ..	100189	4066	4.1
Croatian and Slovenian ...	355542	43037	12.8
English	408614	103828	25.4
Finnish	151774	17189	11.3
French	15783	33859	29.2
German	754375	86458	11.5
Greek	216962	12283	5.7
Irish	439724	80636	18.3
Italian, North	372668	56738	15.2
Italian, South	1911933	262508	13.7
Lithuanian	175258	6186	3.5
Magyar	337351	39785	11.8
Polish	949064	65155	6.9
Ruthenian	147375	18492	12.5
Scandinavian	586306	86700	14.8
Scotch	136842	27684	20.2
Slovak	377527	71889	19.0
Total ³	9220066	1108948	12.0

¹ All peoples with an immigration below 100,000 omitted.

² From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 51.

³ Includes all European peoples entered and Syrians.

TABLE LI

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910¹

Group	Number	Per cent
No occupation	484175	45.1
Skilled laborers	395823	36.8
Professional	7455	.7
Miscellaneous	186989	17.4
Total	1074442	100.0

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

TABLE LII

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS REPORTING OCCUPATIONS, 1899 TO 1910 ¹

Group	Number	Per cent
Professional	7455	1.3
Skilled laborers	395823	67.1
Laborers	69444	11.8
Servants.	65532	11.1
Merchants and dealers	31491	5.3
Farm laborers	11460	1.9
Farmers	1008	.2
Miscellaneous	8051	1.3
Total	590267	100.0

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.*

TABLE LIII

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS ¹

Occupation	Number
Actors	232
Architects.	108
Clergymen	350
Editors.	84
Electricians.	359
Engineers.	484
Lawyers	34
Literary and scientific persons	385
Musicians.	1624
Officials (gov.)	18
Physicians.	290
Sculptors and artists	357
Teachers	2192
Others	938
Total.	7455

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.*

TABLE LIV

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS REPORTING SKILLED OCCUPATIONS, 1899 TO 1910¹*A. Principal skilled occupations*

Occupation	Number	Per cent of total skilled
Tailors	145272	36.6
Carpenters, joiners, etc.	40901	10.3
Dressmakers and seamstresses ²	39482	10.0
Shoemakers	23510	5.9
Clerks and accountants	17066	4.3
Painters and glaziers	16387	4.1
Butchers	11413	2.9
Bakers	10925	2.8
Locksmiths	9385	2.4
Blacksmiths	8517	2.2
Total	322867	81.5

B. Other skilled occupations

Occupation	Number	
Tinners	6967	
Watch and clockmakers	4444	
Tobacco workers	4350	
Hat and capmakers	4070	
Barbers and hairdressers	4054	
Weavers and spinners	3971	
Tanners and curriers	3715	
Furriers and fur workers	3144	
Bookbinders	3009	
Masons	2507	
Plumbers	2455	
Saddlers and harness makers	2311	
Milliners	2291	
Metal workers (other than iron, steel and tin)	2231	
Machinists	1907	
Jewelers	1837	
Millers	1390	
Mechanics (not specified)	1203	
Upholsterers	1100	
Photographers	1013	
Iron and steel workers	604	
Textile workers (not specified)	436	
Others	13938	
Total	72956	
Grand total	395823	

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.² Seamstresses are included with dressmakers; cabinetmakers and woodworkers (not specified) with carpenters and joiners.

TABLE LV

OCCUPATIONS OF TOTAL EUROPEAN AND JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1909, AND PERCENTAGE JEWISH OF TOTAL¹

Group	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
Professional	80322	6836	8.5
Skilled laborers	1247074	362236	29.1
Farm laborers	1290295	9633	0.1
Farmers	84146	908	1.1
Common laborers	2282565	66311	2.9
Servants	890093	61611	6.9
No occupation	2165287	445728	20.6
Miscellaneous	172652	36219	21.0
Total	8213034	990182	12.1

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 27.

TABLE LVI

TOTAL EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS¹ AND IMMIGRANTS WITHOUT OCCUPATION, 1899 TO 1910²

People	Total Immigrants	Without occupation (including women and children)	Per cent of total
Jewish	1074442	484175	45.1
Bohemian and Moravian ..	106189	39700	39.5
Croatian and Slovenian. .	355542	37219	11.1
English	408614	158616	38.8
Finnish	151774	28766	18.9
French	115783	45745	39.5
German	745375	296082	39.7
Greek	216962	19244	8.9
Irish	439724	63456	14.4
Italian, North.	372668	76046	20.4
Italian, South.	1911933	440274	23.0
Lithuanian.	175258	33718	19.2
Magyar	338151	78875	23.3
Polish	949064	200634	21.1
Ruthenian	147375	18915	12.9
Scandinavian	586306	111212	18.9
Scotch.	136842	47634	34.9
Slovak.	377527	87280	23.1
Total	9555673 ³	2506713	26.2

¹ All races with an immigration below 100,000 omitted.

² From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 52.

³ Total includes all races.

TABLE LVII

OCCUPATIONS OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS¹ REPORTING EMPLOYMENT,
1899 TO 1910²

People	Number reporting employment	Per cent			
		In professional occupations	In skilled occupations	Laborers, including farm laborers	Miscellaneous
Jewish	590267	1.3	67.1	13.7	18.0
Bohemian and Moravian . .	60489	1.3	40.8	28.5	29.4
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin	60991	.1	3.3	92.0	4.6
Croatian and Slovenian . . .	298324	.1	5.0	86.4	8.5
English	24998	9.0	48.7	14.1	28.1
Finnish	123008	.3	6.0	67.2	26.5
French	70038	9.3	34.5	26.0	30.2
German	458203	3.5	30.0	37.7	28.8
Greek	197718	.3	7.7	86.2	5.8
Irish	376268	1.3	12.6	35.2	50.9
Italian, North	296622	1.1	20.4	66.5	12.0
Italian, South	1471659	.4	14.6	77.0	7.9
Lithuanian	141540	.1	6.7	76.1	17.2
Magyar	259276	.5	8.6	77.5	13.4
Polish	748430	.2	6.3	75.3	18.1
Roumanian	75531	.2	2.7	93.8	3.3
Russian	69986	1.4	9.1	82.7	6.8
Ruthenian	128.60	.1	2.0	80.6	17.4
Scandinavian	475091	1.2	20.5	43.8	34.5
Scotch	89208	5.7	57.9	12.1	24.3
Slovak	290247	.1	4.4	80.0	15.5
Total	7048953 ³	1.4	20.2	79.3	19.1

¹ All races with an immigration below 50,000 omitted.² From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 53.³ Total includes all races.

Very much above
most immigrant
in skill

TABLE LVIII

OCCUPATIONS OF SLAVIC AND JEWISH IMMIGRANTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT, 1899
TO 1910¹

People	No. reporting occupations	Per cent			
		In professional occupations	In skilled occupations	Common laborers (including farm laborers)	Miscellaneous
Jewish	590267	1.3	67.1	13.7	18.0
Bohemian and Moravian . .	60489	1.3	40.8	28.5	29.4
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin.	90991	.1	3.3	92.0	4.6
Croatian and Slovenian . .	298324	.1	5.0	86.4	8.5
Polish	748430	.2	6.3	75.3	18.1
Russian	69986	1.4	9.1	82.7	6.8
Ruthenian . . .	128460	.1	2.0	80.6	17.4
Slovak	290247	.1	4.4	80.0	15.5

¹ From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 53.

TABLE LIX

OCCUPATIONS OF "OLD" AND "NEW" IMMIGRATION (JEWISH EXCEPTED) AND OF
JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1899 TO 1909¹

Occupations	"Old" immigration		"New" immigration (Jewish excepted)		Jewish immigration	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Professional . . .	56406	2.5	17080	.3	6836	.7
Skilled laborers . .	442754	19.5	441984	8.9	362936	36.7
Farm laborers . . .	138598	6.1	1142064	23.1	9633	1.0
Farmers	40633	1.8	42605	.9	908	.1
Common laborers . .	40274	17.7	181410	36.7	66311	6.7
Servants	424698	18.7	403784	8.2	61611	6.2
No occupation . . .	678510	29.8	1041049	21.0	445728	45.0
Miscellaneous . . .	90109	4.0	46324	.9	36219	3.7
Total	2273782	100.0	4949070	100.0	990182	100.0

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 29.

TABLE LX

ILLITERACY OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910¹

Year	Jewish immigrants 14 years of age and over	Jewish immigrant illiterates ² 14 years of age and over	Per cent illiterate
1899	28428	5637	19.5
1900	47672	10607	22.2
1901	43367	10119	23.3
1902	42376	11921	28.1
1903	57159	14980	26.2
1904	82707	18763	22.6
1905	101357	22770	22.4
1906	110128	29444	26.7
1907	111486	31885	28.6
1908	77374	23217	30.3
1909	42341	12201	28.8
1910	62391	17963	28.8
Total	806786	209507	26.0

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.² Those who could neither read nor write.

TABLE LXI

SEX OF JEWISH IMMIGRANT ILLITERATES, 1908 TO 1912¹

Year	Jewish immigrants 14 years of age and over		Jewish immigrant illiterates 14 years of age and over			
			Number		Per cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1908	43270	31104	9455	13762	21.9	40.4
1909	23452	18889	4832	7369	20.6	39.0
1910	35272	27120	7593	10370	21.5	38.2
1911	38018	31370	6,537	10304	16.9	32.8
1912	32706	27799	5637	9498	17.2	34.2
Total	172718	139282	33970	51303	19.7	36.8

¹ In order to ascertain the number of males and females, 14 years of age and over, the number of Jewish immigrants under 14 years of age were distributed equally between the sexes. Subtracting these respectively from the number of males and females, we obtain the above totals. Cf. *Report of New York State Commission on Immigration*, 1908, p. 171.

TABLE LXII

ILLITERACY OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS,¹ 1899 TO 1910²

People	Immigrants 14 years of age and over	Immigrant illiterates 14 years of age and over	
		Number	Per cent
Jewish	806786	209507	26.0
Bohemian and Moravian..	79721	1322	1.7
Croatian and Slovenian...	320977	115785	36.1
English	347458	3647	1.0
Finnish	137916	1745	1.3
German	625793	32236	5.2
Greek	208608	55089	26.4
Irish	416640	10721	2.6
Italian, North.....	339301	38897	11.5
Italian, South.....	1690376	911566	53.9
Lithuanian	161441	79001	48.9
Magyar	307082	35004	11.4
Polish	861303	304675	35.4
Ruthenian	140775	75165	53.4
Scandinavian	530634	2221	.4
Scotch	115788	767	.7
Slovak	342583	82216	24.0
Total ³	8398624	2238801	26.7

¹ All peoples with an immigration below 100,000 excluded, except the Bohemian and Moravian.

² From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 51.

³ Total for all races.

TABLE LXIII

ILLITERACY OF "OLD" AND "NEW" IMMIGRATION (JEWISH EXCEPTED) AND OF
JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1899 TO 1909¹

Classed	Immigrants 14 years of age and over	Immigrant illiterates 14 years of age and over	
		Number	Per cent.
Old immigration	1983618	52833	2.7
New immigration (Jewish ex- cepted).	4471047	1667754	37.3
Jewish immigration.	744395	191544	25.7
Total.	7199060	1912131	26.6

¹ From *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, p. 30.

TABLE LXIV

ILLITERACY OF PEOPLES FROM EASTERN EUROPE, 1899 TO 1910¹

People	Immigrants 14 years of age and over	Illiterates	
		Number	Per cent.
Jewish	806786	209507	26.0
Lithuanian	161441	79001	48.9
Polish	861303	304675	35.4
Russian	77479	29777	38.4
Ruthenian	140775	75165	63.4

¹ From *Statistical Review of Immigration*, p. 51.

TABLE LXV

SEX OF ILLITERATES OF PEOPLES FROM EASTERN EUROPE, 1908¹

Race	Number illiterates 14 years and over		Per cent.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jewish	9455	13762	21.9	40.4
Lithuanian	4215	297	53.4	63.4
Polish	14573	8813	36.7	42.9
Russian	5820	828	40.1	50.8
Ruthenian	4203	1836	49.6	57.4

¹ From *Report of New York State Commission on Immigration*, 1908, p. 171.

TABLE LXVI

DESTINATION OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910, BY DIVISION ¹

Division	Jewish immigrants	Per cent
North Atlantic States	923549	86.0 ✓
North Central States	110998	10.3
South Atlantic States	25149	2.3
South Central States	8324	.8
Western States	6384	.6
Total	1074404 ²	100.0

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.² 27 were destined for Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and 11 were tourists.

TABLE LXVII

DESTINATION OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1899 to 1910,
BY PRINCIPAL STATES

State	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
New York	690296	64.2
Pennsylvania	108534	10.1
Massachusetts	66623	6.1
Illinois	50931	4.7
New Jersey	31279	3.2
Ohio	20531	1.9
Maryland	18700	1.7
Connecticut	16254	1.5
Missouri	12476	1.2
Minnesota	7029	.7
Wisconsin	6369	.6
Michigan	5970	.6
Rhode Island	5023	.5
All others	31989	3.0
Total	1074404 ¹	100.0

¹ Cf. note 2 of table LXVI.

TABLE LXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH AND TOTAL IMMIGRANTS DESTINED FOR EACH
DIVISION, 1899 TO 1910¹

Division	Per cent. of total immigrants	Per cent of Jewish immigrants
North Atlantic States	67.5	86.0 ✓
North Central States	22.4	10.3
South Atlantic States	2.7	2.3
South Central States	1.8	.8
Western	5.6	.6
Total	100.0	100.0

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

TABLE LXIX

PARTICIPATION OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN DESTINATION OF TOTAL
IMMIGRANTS, 1899 TO 1910, BY DIVISION

Division	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent Jewish of total
North Atlantic . .	6368243	923549	14.5 ✓
North Central . .	2116327	110998	5.2
South Atlantic . .	254936	25149	9.9
North Central . .	167427	8324	5.0
Western	532824	6384	1.2
Total	9439757	1074404 ²	11.4

¹ From *Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration*.

² Cf. note 2 of table LXVI.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS,
DECEMBER 9, 1891.¹

This Government has found occasion to express in a friendly spirit, but with much earnestness, to the Government of the Czar its concern because of the harsh measures now being enforced against the Hebrews in Russia. By the revival of antisemitic laws, long in abeyance, great numbers of those unfortunate people have been constrained to abandon their homes and leave the Empire by reason of the impossibility of finding subsistence within the pale to which it is sought to confine them. The immigration of these people to the United States—many other countries being closed to them—is largely increasing and is likely to assume proportions which may make it difficult to find homes and employment for them here and to seriously affect the labor market. It is estimated that over 1,000,000 will be forced from Russia in a few years. The Hebrew is never a beggar ; he has always kept the law—life by toil—often under severe and oppressive civil restrictions. It is also true that no race, set or class has more fully cared for its own than the Hebrew race. But the sudden transfer of such a multitude under conditions that tend to strip them of their small accumulations and to depress their energies and courage is neither good for them nor for us.

The banishment, whether by direct decree or by not less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is in the nature of things an order to enter another—some other. This consideration, as well as the suggestion of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia, while our historic friendship for that government can not fail to give assurance that our representations are those of a sincere wellwisher.

¹ (*Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 1789-1897, vol. ix, 1889-97, p. 188. Washington, 1898).

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APPENDIX B.

ARTICLE VII OF THE CONSTITUTION OF ROUMANIA.

Difference in religious beliefs and confessions does not constitute in Roumania an obstacle to the obtainment of civil and political rights, nor to the exercise of these rights.

(1) A foreigner without distinction of religion, and whether a subject or not of a foreign government, can become naturalized under the following conditions :

(a) He shall address to the government an application for naturalization, in which he shall indicate the capital he possesses, the profession or craft which he follows, and his abode in Roumania.

(b) He shall reside, after this application, ten years in the country, and prove, by action, that he is of service to it.

(2) The following may be exempted from the intermediary stages :

(a) Those who have brought into the country industries, useful inventions, or talent, or who have founded large establishments of commerce or industry.

(b) Those who, born and bred in Roumania, of parents established in the country, have never been subjected, either themselves or their parents, to any protection by a foreign power.

(c) Those who have served under the colors during the war of independence ; these may be naturalized collectively by government decree, by a single resolution, and without any further formality.

(3) Naturalization can not be given except by law, and individually.

(4) A special law shall determine the manner in which foreigners may establish their home on Roumanian territory.

(5) Only Roumanians, and those who have been naturalized Roumanians, can buy rural estates in Roumania.

APPENDIX C,

SECRETARY HAY'S NOTE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, *August 11, 1902.* }

“Excellency :—In the course of an instruction recently sent to the Minister accredited to the Government of Roumania in regard to the bases of negotiation begun with that government looking to a convention of naturalization between the United States and Roumania, certain considerations were set forth for the Minister’s guidance concerning the character of the emigration from that country, the causes which constrain it, and the consequences so far as they adversely affect the United States.

“It has seemed to the President appropriate that these considerations, relating as they do to the obligations entered into by the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, of July 13, 1878, should be brought to the attention of the Governments concerned, and commended to their consideration in the hope that, if they are so fortunate as to meet the approval of the several Powers, such measures as to them may seem wise may be taken to persuade the Government of Roumania to reconsider the subject of the grievances in question.

“The United States welcomes now, as it has welcomed from the foundation of its Government, the voluntary immigration of all aliens coming hither under conditions fitting them to become merged in the body politic of this land. Our laws provide the means for them to become incorporated indistinguishably in the mass of citizens, and prescribe their absolute equality with the native born, guaranteeing to them equal civil rights at home and equal protection abroad. The conditions are few, looking to their coming as free agents, so

circumstanced physically and morally as to supply the healthful and intelligent material of free citizenship. The pauper, the criminal, the contagiously or incurably diseased are excluded from the benefits of immigration only when they are likely to become a source of danger or a burden upon the community. <The voluntary character of their coming is essential; hence we shut out all immigration assisted or constrained by foreign agencies.> The purpose of our generous treatment of the alien immigrant is to benefit us and him alike—not to afford to another state a field upon which to cast its own objectionable elements. The alien, coming hither voluntarily and prepared to take upon himself the preparatory and in due course the definitive obligations of citizenship, retains thereafter, in domestic and international relations, the initial character of free agency, in the full enjoyment of which it is incumbent upon his adoptive State to protect him.

“The foregoing considerations, whilst pertinent to the examination of the purpose and scope of a naturalization treaty, have a larger aim. It behooves the State to scrutinize most jealously the character of the immigration from a foreign land, and, if it be obnoxious to objection, to examine the causes which render it so. Should those causes originate in the act of another sovereign State, to the detriment of its neighbors, it is the prerogative of an injured State, to point out the evil and to make remonstrance: for with nations, as with individuals the social law holds good, that the right of each is bounded by the right of the neighbor.

“The condition of a large class of the inhabitants of Roumania has for many years been a source of grave concern to the United States. I refer to the Roumanian Jews, numbering some 400,000. Long ago, while the Danubian principalities labored under oppressive conditions, which only war and a general action of European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth in 1872 the strong remonstrance of the United States. The Treaty of Berlin was hailed as a cure for the wrong, in view of the express provisions of its forty-fourth article, prescribing

that "in Roumania, the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever," and stipulating freedom in the exercise of all forms of worship to Roumanian dependents and foreigners alike, as well as guaranteeing that all foreigners in Roumania shall be treated, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

"With the lapse of time these just prescriptions have been rendered nugatory in great part, as regards the native Jews, by the legislation and municipal regulations of Roumania. Starting from the arbitrary and controvertible premise that the native Jews of Roumania domiciled there for centuries are "aliens not subject to foreign protection," the ability of the Jew to earn even the scanty means of existence that suffice for a frugal race has been constricted by degrees, until nearly every opportunity to win a livelihood is denied; and until the helpless poverty of the Jew has constrained an exodus of such proportions as to cause general concern. ✓

"The political disabilities of the Jews in Roumania, their exclusion from the public service and the learned professions, the limitations of their civil rights and the imposition upon them of exceptional taxes, involving as they do wrongs repugnant to the moral sense of liberal modern peoples, are not so directly in point for my present purpose as the public acts which attack the inherent right of man as a breadwinner in the ways of agriculture and trade. <The Jews are prohibited from owning land, or even from cultivating it as common laborers.> They are debarred from residing in the rural districts. Many branches of petty trade and manual production are closed to them in the overcrowded cities where they are forced to dwell and engage, against fearful odds, in the desperate struggle for existence. Even as ordinary artisans or hired laborers they may only find employment in proportion of one "unprotected alien" to two "Roumanians" under

any one employer. In short, by the cumulative effect of successive restrictions, the Jews of Roumania have become reduced to a state of wretched misery. Shut out from nearly every avenue of self-support which is open to the poor of other lands, and ground down by poverty as the natural result of their discriminatory treatment, they are rendered incapable of lifting themselves from the enforced degradation they endure. Even were the fields of education, of civil employment and of commerce open to them as to "Roumanian citizens," their penury would prevent their rising by individual effort. Human beings so circumstanced have virtually no alternatives but submissive suffering or flight to some land less unfavorable to them. Removal under such conditions is not and cannot be the healthy, intelligent emigration of a free and self-reliant being. It must be, in most cases, the mere transplantation of an artificially produced diseased growth to a new place.

"Granting that, in better and more healthful surroundings, the morbid conditions will eventually change for good, such emigration is necessarily for a time a burden to the community upon which the fugitives may be cast. Self-reliance and the knowledge and ability that evolve the power of self-support must be developed, and, at the same time, avenues of employment must be opened in quarters where competition is already keen and opportunities scarce. The teachings of history and the experience of our own nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenship. No class of immigrants is more welcome to our shores, when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggle for bread, and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will. But when they come as outcasts, made doubly paupers by physical and moral oppression in their native land, and thrown upon the long-suffering generosity of a more favored community, their migration lacks the essential conditions which make alien immigration either acceptable or beneficial. So well is this appreciated on

the Continent that, even in the countries where anti-Semitism has no foothold, it is difficult for these fleeing Jews to obtain any lodgment. America is their only goal.

"The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in no wise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effects upon this country and to judge accordingly.

"Putting together the facts now plainly brought home to this Government during the past few years, that many of the inhabitants of Roumania are being forced, by artificially adverse discriminations, to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them; that they come hither unfitted, by the conditions of their exile, to take part in the new life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community; and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time—the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Roumanian Government is clearly established in favor of this Government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This Government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin to which it was not and cannot become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfilment thereof by its co-signatories, for the act of Roumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard.

"You will take an early occasion to read this instruction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and, should he request it, leave with him a copy.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN HAY".

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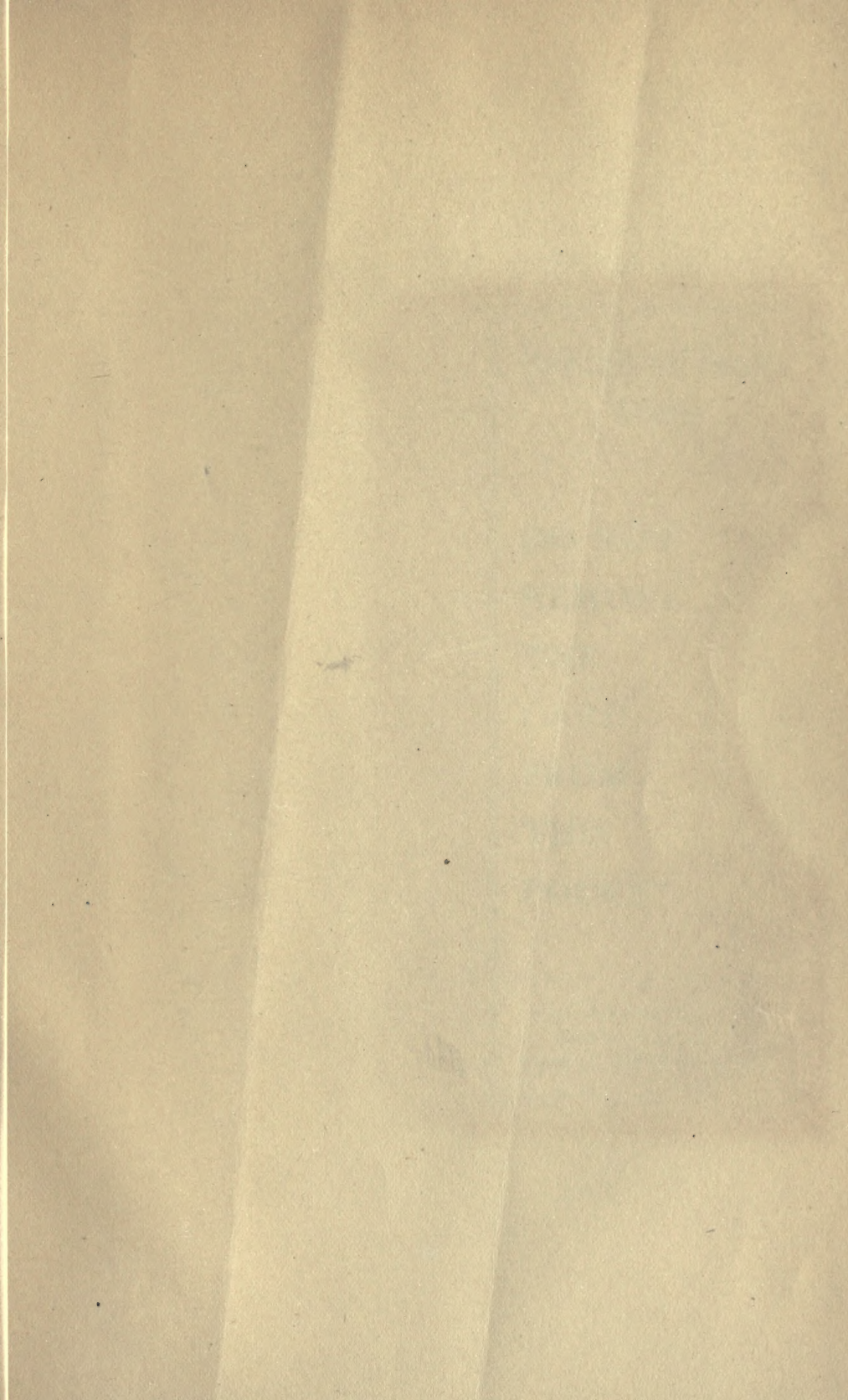
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